

Christian Hebraism
in the Reformation Era (1500–1660)

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Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500–1660)

Authors, Books, and the Transmission
of Jewish Learning

By

Stephen G. Burnett



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Even before I completed my first book on Johannes Buxtorf, I was puzzled about why so many Christian Hebrew books were printed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Why did Christian printers believe that they could make a profit on such books, and who did they think would buy them? I was confident that they were better judges of what they could sell than I was, but their pool of prospective customers was invisible to me. Finding the answers to these questions and a number of others that I address in my book would not have been possible without the generous support of institutions, the help of librarians in America and throughout Europe, and the judicious advice of a number of colleagues throughout the modern day Republic of Letters.

My research on this book began where the last one did, in the University of Wisconsin's Memorial Library, supported by a Grant in Aid from the Friends of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries in the summer of 1998. During the fall of 1999, I received a residence fellowship for the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania and became part of an international team working on Christian Hebraism. A fellowship from the American Academy of Learned Societies (1999–2000) allowed me to spend that entire year doing preliminary research. A Fulbright Fellowship to the University of Potsdam (2001–2002) gave me access to rich sources in Berlin area libraries, and a residency fellowship at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (2004) allowed me to find most of the Christian Hebrew imprints that form the foundation for my book. I was able to finish most of the book manuscript thanks to a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton during the fall of 2009.

Since my book discusses Christian Hebraism throughout Reformation-era Europe and rests on a foundation not only of books but a wide variety of manuscripts and archival records, grants in aid have been critically important for this project. The following organizations and institutions provided grants to support my research on this book: The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture (2000–2001), American Philosophical Society (2009), the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Research Council (2004, 2009), the Department of History through an Oldfather Fund Grant-in-Aid (2001), a Pauley Fund for Excellence in History Grant (2008),

and the now defunct Humanities Institute of UNL's College of Arts and Sciences (1999). The Norman and Bernice Harris Center for Judaic Studies, led by long-time director Jean Cahan, has consistently and generously supported this project, enabling me to present my research in conferences in Europe and in Israel. This honor roll of supporters made it possible for a scholar living in Nebraska, without ready access to the primary sources and archival records, to write a book that traced Christian Hebraism throughout Europe. I owe them all a debt of gratitude.

I also owe debts of thanks to a host of librarians and archivists in institutions throughout America and Europe. I am particularly grateful to the then-Director of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, Father Thomas Reddy, S. J., who waived the customary limits on manuscripts orders for me as I worked there for an intensely busy week during the summer of 2007. My book would have been far poorer had I not been able to track down all those Jesuit Hebraists. Mme. Isabelle de Conihout, conservateur en chef of the Fonds Ancien of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris, patiently answered my questions about the Mazarine library collection and allowed me to examine a wide variety of manuscript and printed materials when I spent a hectic week there during July of 2009. I have worked off and on for the past decade at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, frequently sending queries to Herr Christian Hogrefe and other members of the staff about its holdings, which they have answered with unfailing courtesy. I also directed numerous questions to Hebraica librarians in a number of institutions as I sought to identify Christian Hebraist imprints. I offer my special thanks to Ilana Tahan, the Head of Hebrew Collections at the British Library in London, and to Heike Tröger, Hebrew curator of the Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, for their willing assistance in my project.

As I began to study Christian Hebraism outside of Germany I discovered both new dimensions to the topic and new colleagues with whom I could discuss these problems. While I cannot mention all of the scholars on three continents that I have met in the course of my work I owe particular thanks to a few individuals. My conversations with the other fellows who participated in the Christian Hebraism seminar at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies were fundamentally important. During that year I had particularly fruitful discussions of my research with Allison Coudert, Yaacov Deutsch, Joseph Hacker, Fabrizio Lelli, Nils Roemer, Joanna Weinberg, Piet van Boxel and Anthony Grafton. The late Sophie Kessler Mesguich kindly gave me a copy of her unpublished dissertation years before I had the opportunity to meet her in 2009 at a conference in

Jerusalem. Lyse Schwarzfuchs gave me a copy of her book on Paris Hebrew printing and has kindly answered my thorny questions about Hebrew books produced in Paris, Lyon, and Geneva. Gerald Toomer provided me with a PDF copy of his reconstruction of John Selden's library, an enormous piece of detective work that I could not possibly have duplicated but which I profited from through his generosity. Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach sent me copies of both his published and unpublished work on the history of Hebraica collections in Paris, checked on some extremely rare Hebraica books for me, and gave me sound advice on how to work efficiently in Paris research libraries. Finally, Matthew Cartlidge of Trailhead Mapping Services in Lincoln, Nebraska supported my work by drafting the two maps that appear in this book.

Reformation scholarship of one kind or another is the Burnett family business. My wife Amy has been at turns a constant support, sounding board, critic, and willing source of information throughout the long composition of this book. My children have necessarily grown up with this book as a part of the backdrop of their lives since it took both them and their parents to live in Berlin, in Wolfenbüttel and Peter to Princeton as well. Therefore I dedicate this book to Katy, Dan, and Peter with my thanks for their perseverance and for their love.

Stephen G. Burnett
Lincoln, Nebraska USA
September 3, 2011

ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> (1875-1912). Online access: www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html .
BBLK	Traugott Bautz, <i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> (1990-2011). Online access: www.bautz.de/bbkl .
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1953-.
CE	<i>Contemporaries of Erasmus</i> . 3 Vols. Ed. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985-1987.
CO	<i>Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia</i> . 59 Vols. <i>Corpus Reformatorum</i> , vols. 29-88. Ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss. Braunschweig and Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1863-1900; reprint: New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1964.
CR	<i>Corpus Reformatorum</i> . Ed. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss. Braunschweig and Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1863-1900; New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1964.
CWE	<i>Collected Works of Erasmus</i> . Ed. Richard J. Schoeck and Beatrice Corrigan. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974-.
FFM	L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld. <i>Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585-1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography</i> . 2 Vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984-1987.
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
LB	Landesbibliothek (most common use).
LB	<i>Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia emendati- ora et avctiora, ad optimas editiones praecipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curavit summa fide exacta, doctorumque virorum notis illustrata</i> . Ed. Jean le Clerc. Leiden: Van der Aa, 1703-1706; reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1961-1962.

LW	<i>Luther's Works</i> . Ed. Jaroslav J. Pelikan, Hilton C. Oswald and Helmut T. Lehman. 55 Vols. Saint Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1955–1986.
MBW	<i>Melanchthons Briefwechsel. Kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe</i> . Ed. Heinz Scheible. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977–.
MPL	J. P. Migne, ed. <i>Patrologiae Latina</i> . 221 Vols. Paris: Siron; Vrayet, 1844–1864.
MRTS	Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . 60 Vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; available online to subscribing libraries.
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.
RBW	Johannes Reuchlin. <i>Briefwechsel</i> . Ed. Stefan Rhein, Matthias Dall'Asta and Gerald Dörner. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1999–.
RBW Leseausgabe	Johannes Reuchlin. <i>Briefwechsel. Leseausgabe</i> . 4 Vols. Trans. Adalbert Weh. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2000–2011.
RSW	Johannes Reuchlin. <i>Sämtliche Werke. Kritische Ausgabe mit Kommentar</i> . Ed. Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers, Hans-Gert Roloff und Peter Schäfer. 17 Vols. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1996–.
SB	Staatsbibliothek.
Sig.	Signatur (call number).
STC	A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, eds. <i>A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English books printed abroad 1475–1640</i> . Second edition, revised and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by K. F. Pantzer. 3. Vols. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986–1991.
SUB	Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.
UB	Universitätsbibliothek.
VD 16	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> . Available online: www.bsb-muenchen.de/1681.o.html .
VD 17	<i>Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts</i> . Available online: www.vd17.de .

- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe.* Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883–. WA Br: Luther's Briefwechsel.
- Wing Donald G. Wing. *Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English books printed in other countries, 1641–1700.* New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1982–1998.

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Map 1. Centers of Christian Hebrew scholarship



Map 2. Centers of Christian Hebrew printing

INTRODUCTION

Andrew Melville escaped from Poitiers during the siege of 1569, leaving behind all of his books and other possessions except for a small Hebrew Bible, which he carried strapped to his belt. He took the Bible with him all the way to Geneva, where he briefly taught at the Academy, and then back to Scotland. On one memorable occasion in 1584, he used it to make a theological point before King James VI of Scotland¹ and his Lord Chancellor in a session of the Privy Council. Melville thumped the Bible down on the table, declaring that it was his warrant and instructions to act as he did and asserting: “with all earnestnes, zeall and gravitie, I stand for the cause of Jesus Chryst and his Kirk.”²

That Melville made this statement using a *Hebrew* Bible underscores the connection between the Reformation and Hebrew study among Christians. Melville espoused the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura*, that the Bible was the sole judge of religious controversies, and that the most authoritative biblical texts were the original Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Christians could not routinely refer to the Hebrew Bible text, but by Melville’s day Christian scholars throughout Europe knew Hebrew and could read the Hebrew Bible thanks to the transformative impact of the Reformation.

Before the Reformation Christians regarded Hebrew first and foremost as the language of the Jews, and with good reason. For Jews Hebrew was the language of worship, tradition and study. Boys learned it from prayer books and from the Bible when young, and an elite progressed still further, adding the Hebrew of the Mishnah and commentaries to their other attainments while studying the Talmud at yeshivas. The Rabbinic elite wrote books in Hebrew, as did professionals such as doctors and intellectuals who studied philosophy, the natural sciences and other fields. While Jews always spoke the languages of the countries where they lived, their continued use of Hebrew marked them as Jews.

¹ He is better known by his later title, King James I of England (1603–1625).

² *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. “Melville, Andrew (1545–1622)” (by James Kirk), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 2 February 2009). See James Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842), 41, 142.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century only a few Christian scholars studied the Hebrew language, the Hebrew Bible, or post-biblical Jewish texts. Biblical humanists such as Erasmus saw the study of Hebrew as a “return to the sources” of Christianity in order to facilitate church reform. A handful of Christian Hebrew scholars such as Johannes Reuchlin laid an important foundation for the growth of Hebrew scholarship that would come later by writing basic Hebrew textbooks, encouraging Christian presses to print Hebrew books, and pressing rulers and university authorities to fund chairs of Hebrew at universities. Yet these Hebraists persuaded few students to follow their example because there were no compelling intellectual or religious reasons for a Catholic scholar to learn Hebrew and little opportunity for them to do so without Jewish help.

The Protestant reformers changed the Christian relationship to Hebrew decisively by using it as a tool in their attack on the authority of traditional Catholic doctrine. The Protestant need for Hebrew learning made it intellectually important for them and for their Catholic opponents to support the teaching of Hebrew. Protestants needed a cadre of experts who would read and interpret the Hebrew Bible text so that they could teach theology from the sources and also write apologetic works to fend off the attacks of rival churches. The post-Tridentine Catholic Church responded with greater efforts to educate its own scholars in Hebrew, above all through the efforts of the Jesuit order. These Protestant and Catholic Hebrew students together formed a new market for Hebrew books that grew by thousands of potential customers each decade after 1520.

Since at least 1475, Jewish printers had been producing Hebrew books to support Jewish life and scholarship.³ They produced Bibles, tractates of the Talmud, and other halakic tools to support Jewish scholarship, and they sought to broaden their customer base by printing more popular works such as prayer books and texts of various kinds in Judeo-German, Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-Italian for Jewish women and for “men who are like women in not having much knowledge.”⁴ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib’s pioneering study of the Jewish libraries of Mantua in 1595 provides a

³ The first dated Hebrew book was printed in Italy during 1475. Menahem Schmeltzer, “Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books among the Sephardim Before and After the Expulsion,” in: *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World 1391–1648*, ed. Benjamin R. Gampel (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 257–266, here 259.

⁴ Chava Weissler, “The Religion of Traditional Ashkenazic Women: Some Methodological Issues,” *AJS Review* 12 (1987): 73–94, here 78.

suggestive analysis of the purchasing tastes of that city's Jewish population. In that year the Roman Inquisition ordered that its delegates inspect the 430 libraries belonging to Jewish households and eight belonging to public institutions, to look for banned books and to expurgate blasphemous passages from otherwise acceptable Jewish books.⁵ The book owners themselves were given a month to inventory their libraries to assist the three delegates of the Inquisition who would examine them.⁶ Baruchson-Arbib profiled the holdings of these libraries by subject, providing a revealing analysis of Jewish book ownership in Mantua. The four most popular classes of books were Liturgy (34.7%), Bibles and Commentaries (22.2%), Halakah (10.7%), and Ethics (6.2%). All other genres of Jewish books combined, including Kabbalah, Philosophy, Science, Midrash, or Mishnah and Talmud, made up about a quarter of library holdings; each of these categories amounted to less than 5% of all titles.⁷

While Christian printers had been printing a trickle of Hebrew books since 1501, the growth in Hebrew learning induced them to become more involved in producing them.⁸ Christian presses usually printed Hebrew books as a sideline, no more than a tenth of their overall production to serve a niche market. Nonetheless, this niche market grew by leaps and bounds over the course of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century.

The Reformation turned Christian Hebraism from the pastime of a few hobbyists and theologians into a broad based intellectual movement that involved students and professors, printers, and patrons of many kinds living throughout Europe. Christian Hebraist authors were the central actors in this movement. The lion's share of their publications (around 80%) involved either books focused on the Hebrew language itself or on the Hebrew Bible, but these scholars forged a linguistic key that allowed other Christian Hebraists to study a wider variety of Jewish books. They also wrote books utilizing Jewish works in other genres such as Kabbalah and History, which further enriched humanist learning. This book will explore

⁵ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *Books and Readers – The Reading Interests of Italian Jews at the Close of the Renaissance* (Ramat Gan, Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993) [Hebrew]; part two of this work has appeared under the title *La Culture Livresque des Juifs d'Italie à la Fin de la Renaissance*, trans. Gabriel Roth (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2001), 50, 225–230.

⁶ Idem, "Jewish Libraries: Culture and Reading Interests in 16th Century Italy," *Library History* 10 (1994): 19–26, here 20.

⁷ Idem, *Culture Livresque des Juifs*, 50.

⁸ Aldus Manutius, who printed the first Christian Hebrew book in 1501, made sporadic use of Hebrew type in books he printed during 1498 and 1499. Stephen Lubell, "The Use of Hebrew in the Antwerp Polyglot" (MA thesis: University of London, 2008), 28.

how the Reformation made it possible for a Christian academic culture of Hebrew learning to take root within the Christian world of learning.

The relationship of Christian Hebraism and the Reformation has not been fully addressed in recent scholarship. Since 1960, the vast majority of research in the field has focused upon the life and work of particular Hebraists. Scholarly biographies of Hebraists such as Johannes Reuchlin (1454–1522), Sebastian Münster (1488–1552), Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580), Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629), Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), John Selden (1584–1654), and Constantine L'Empereur (1591–1648) and many others have provided welcome insight into the motives and achievements of these scholars.⁹ François Secret's *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (1964) opened the contemporary discussion of Christian Kabbalah, which has attracted considerable scholarly attention.¹⁰ Robert J. Wilkinson tied the kabbalistic interests of a circle of Catholic scholars, including Andreas Masius and Guillaume Postel, to two major milestones in sixteenth century biblical scholarship: the first printing of the Syriac New Testament and the Antwerp Polyglot.¹¹ More recently political Hebraism has emerged as an area of scholarly discussion. Scholars in this field of research focus on the books of a few Christian Hebraists such as John Selden and Peter Cunaeus and consider how their

⁹ David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism. The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963); Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*. (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *"I have always loved the Holy Tongue." Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011); Gerald J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) and Jason P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi John Selden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and Peter T. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648)* (Leiden: Brill, 1989).

¹⁰ François Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964). Most recently, see Philip Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); Christopher I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels. Cornelius Agrippa's Occult Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); and Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought*, International Archives of the History of Ideas 189 (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004).

¹¹ Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 137 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007) and idem, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 138 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007). On Postel, see also Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).

work informed legal discussions on how early modern societies ought to be structured.¹² Jerome Friedman's *Most Ancient Testimony* (1984) and Frank Manuel's *The Broken Staff* (1992) are the only recent attempts at broader synthesis.¹³ Gareth Lloyd Jones analyzed the development of Christian Hebraism in one country in *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*.¹⁴ These works have mostly focused on individuals and themes rather than on the underlying reasons why these scholars or scholarly discussions flourished so remarkably. This book will provide not only the missing context for interpreting the success of these individuals, but it will also offer a profile of the overall interests of these Hebraist authors as reflected in their published works.

This book focuses on an analysis of Christian Hebrew books in order to identify the main actors in the Christian Hebraist movement and to map its growth and extent. For the purposes of this study, a Christian Hebrew book is one that contains a substantial amount of Hebrew type and thus serves as an intellectual bridge between the Jewish and Christian worlds of scholarship.¹⁵ Not every book written by Christian Hebraists involving Jewish scholarship necessarily contained Hebrew type,¹⁶ but its presence in a book is a reliable indicator that it was meant to mediate Jewish learning.

Both Jewish and Christian scholars who have studied Hebrew books have long been aware of the large number of Christian Hebrew imprints produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

¹² Kalman Neuman, "Political Hebraism and the Early Modern 'Respublica Hebraeorum': On Defining the Field," *Hebraic Political Studies* 1/1 (2005): 57–70.

¹³ Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983); Frank E. Manuel, *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

¹⁴ Gareth Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983).

¹⁵ This definition of a Christian Hebrew book does not include ornamental uses of Hebrew type such as a page with the Hebrew alphabet on it or the use of Hebrew characters to mark the stanzas of Psalm 119. It also does not include books that contain a Hebrew poem or two in honor of an author within the prefatory material or the significant number of biblical commentaries that contain occasional Hebrew words and phrases.

¹⁶ For example, Benito Arias Montano's translation of Benjamin of Tudela's *Itinerarium* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1575) contains no Hebrew type. Joseph Prijs did not list Johannes Buxtorf's *Juden Schul* (Basel: Henric Petri, 1603) in his *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1886)* (Olten and Freiburg: Urs-Graf, 1965) for lack of Hebrew type, though it too clearly reflects Buxtorf's Hebrew scholarship. By using only Christian Hebraica books that contain Hebrew type, this study will *profile* Christian Hebraism, rather than analyze in an exhaustive way all of the achievements of individual Hebraists.

Moritz Steinschneider's *Biographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde* (1859) and his series of articles on "Die Christliche Hebraisten" (1896–1900) list numerous Christian authors who wrote Hebraica books after 1500. His catalogue of the Bodleian Library, however, focused on Jewish books and mentioned Christian Hebraica only in passing, probably because few of these books were printed entirely in Hebrew characters.¹⁷ Similarly, Yeshayahu Vinograd's *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book* (1993) reports some Christian Hebrew imprints, but they tend to disappear within the enormous numbers of Jewish books recorded there. Readers are left to their own devices when they wish to distinguish Jewish from Christian imprints in places such as Basel where both kinds of books were printed, sometimes by the same firm.¹⁸ Marvin J. Heller's *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book* (2004) also underplays the scope of Christian Hebrew printing. He provides descriptions of 455 works, 428 of them Jewish books and only twenty-three Christian Hebrew imprints.¹⁹ Hebrew bibliographers routinely include Christian Hebrew imprints in their works, but because they were so few in number when compared with Jewish books, readers are left with the impression that Hebrew books are almost by definition Jewish books.

Christian Hebrew imprints are only of marginal importance for general Hebrew bibliography, yet they provide evidence for a small but flourishing printing specialization within the Reformation-era book trade. Roughly two thousand Christian Hebrew imprints appeared between 1501 and 1660. These books identify the authors, editors, translators and printers who fueled the public discussion of Hebrew and Jewish texts during the Reformation. Using this information it is possible to map the world of Christian Hebrew scholarship with its centers and peripheries. By profiling their output it is possible to characterize their intellectual

¹⁷ Moritz Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch über die theoretische und praktische Literatur für hebräische Sprachkunde*. With corrections and additions by A. Freimann, M. Grunwald, E. Nestle, N. Porges, M. Steinschneider (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976); *Christliche Hebraisten: Nachrichten über mehr als 400 Gelehrte, welche über nachbibl. Hebräisch geschrieben haben* (1896–1900; reprint: Hildesheim: H.A. Gerstenberg, 1973; *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin: Ad. Friedlaender, 1852–60; reprint: Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964).

¹⁸ Yeshayahu Vinograd, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Institute for Computerized Hebrew Bibliography, 1993), 2: 94–101 [Hebrew].

¹⁹ Marvin J. Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book: An Abridged Thesaurus*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2004). The final four items Heller describes include two broadsheets (29, 384–385), the 1564 Roman Index of Prohibited Books (550–551), and Marcus Vigerius' *Decachordum Christianum* (Fano: Soncino, 1507), a book printed by Gershom Soncino for a Christian author (27).

priorities and their judgments concerning which kinds of Jewish learning constituted “useful knowledge” within a Christian context. The book’s focus on the public discussion of Hebraica in print also provides a context for interpreting both private and public uses of Hebraica among Christians.

The chronological limits of this study are determined by the course of the Reformation and by the maturation of certain developments within the Christian Hebraist movement itself. Before the Council of Trent and the promulgation of the first and second Indices of Prohibited Books (1559 and 1564), Christian Hebraists were mostly adherents of less dogmatic forms of Catholicism or Protestantism. There were few religious barriers to hinder Protestants studying in Catholic universities such as the College Royale in Paris or to keep Catholics from reading the books of Protestants such as Sebastian Münster. Protestants could still dedicate Hebraica books to Catholic colleagues. This period of pre-confessional Christian Hebraism began in 1501 when the first Christian Hebrew book was printed and lasted until 1559 when the first Roman Index of Prohibited Books was published, though for the sake of round numbers I have used 1560 as the closing year.

After 1560, Christian Hebraist authors were trained and worked in a different religious environment because their educational opportunities, job prospects, and possibilities for patronage were increasingly limited by their confession. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) began this process of confessional differentiation by laying down doctrinal standards that defined Catholicism in clear and unmistakable terms that eliminated any ambiguities that might allow coexistence between it and its Protestant foes. Protestants responded with more and more precise doctrinal definitions of their own, creating barriers to cooperating among themselves, if not to reading each other’s works.

I have chosen 1660 as the end of the Reformation era because it saw the publication in England of John Pearson’s *Critici Sacri*, a huge nine volume anthology in folio of the “collected works” of biblical humanism, including reprints of books written by Paul Fagius and Sebastian Münster a century before. When authors publish their collected works, they are archiving past accomplishments in order to preserve their legacy. *Critici Sacri* was a “legacy” work rather than one that blazed new trails. The 1660’s saw the emergence of a new kind of Hebraism more focused on historical criticism rather than linguistic analysis of the biblical text, and so to preserve a comparison of like with like it seemed best to use 1660 as the closing year.

The book is divided into six chapters, each addressing a facet of the linkage of the Reformation with Christian Hebraism. The first two chapters look at the individuals responsible for the production and consumption of Christian Hebraica. Chapter One discusses the motivation for Christians to learn Hebrew and the means by which learning was realized, focusing on the growth of Hebrew instruction in European universities between 1501 and 1660. The efforts of these university professors and a number of instructors who taught Hebrew in schools and monasteries helped to create a Christian readership for Hebrew books. Chapter Two focuses on Christian Hebrew authors, considering how they were shaped by the Reformation in that their educational choices, vocational opportunities, and possibilities to find patronage were directly affected by their confession. These considerations in turn shaped the Hebraica books that they wrote.

The third and fourth chapters focus on the publishing interests of Christian Hebraist authors and the kinds of Jewish books they had available to study. Chapter Three examines the actual scope of Christian mediation of Jewish texts. Christian Hebrew authors focused on writing books related to the Hebrew language and biblical studies through most of the Reformation era, but some of them studied other sorts of Jewish texts as well. The kinds of books that they wrote reflect to some extent the interests of the different confessional churches that emerged after 1560 as well as the limitations that those churches placed upon their adherents. Chapter Four considers the degree of intellectual access that Christians had to the world of Jewish learning, and it discusses the birth of Jewish bibliography, which informed Christian readers of the broad scope of Jewish scholarship. The actual number of Jewish books that Hebraist authors had access to, however, was far smaller. The chapter therefore evaluates the Judaica books owned by individual Hebraists or held by institutional libraries and the showcase collections of the nobility to identify the Judaica books that formed the basis of Christian Hebrew scholarship and its confrontation with Jewish texts.

The fifth and sixth chapters focus on the production and distribution of Christian Hebrew books themselves. Chapter Five addresses the printing and distribution of Christian Hebrew books. The work of these printers and booksellers made it possible for Christian Hebrew authors to reach a broad public and created the possibility of a Europe-wide discussion of Hebrew and Jewish texts. Chapter Six explains how press controls, above all in Catholic Italy and Spain, served to limit most of this discussion to northern European Protestant countries and to France.

The role that Jews and Jewish converts played in the growth of Christian Hebraism is a theme that pervades this book. The Hebraist encounter with Jewish learning was often a personal one, where Jews and Jewish converts served as tutors, purchasing agents, copyists, and even translators. It was marked all too often by misunderstandings that arose from cultural differences and from dissimilar approaches to Hebrew learning as well as from religious friction. The cooperation of Christians with Jews and Jewish converts with their common interests and differing resources and skills made possible a new kind of encounter with Judaism, embodied in Christian Hebrew books.

The Reformation did not create Christian Hebraism, but it transformed it into an intellectual movement that was active throughout western Europe within all of the major Christian traditions that emerged after Council of Trent: Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed,²⁰ and Anglican. The hierarchies of these new confessional churches supported Christian Hebraism, above all by funding increasing numbers of university professorships of Hebrew and by providing a sufficient level of patronage to produce some truly prodigious works of scholarship, such as the great Polyglot Bibles. These same authorities, above all in Catholic Europe, used press controls to shape, control, and suppress some kinds of Hebrew learning. The Reformation made possible for the first time a Christian academic culture of Hebrew learning that was independent of Jews and Judaism.

²⁰ This book uses "Reformed" rather than the more popular but less accurate term "Calvinist." See Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed. A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), xxii-xxiii.

CHAPTER ONE

BIRTH OF A CHRISTIAN HEBREW READING PUBLIC

In the year 1500, Hebrew was an unimportant language to the vast majority of Christian scholars in Europe. They had little to gain by studying it, and they had almost no chance of doing so without Jewish help. A few theological experts or humanist eccentrics such as Pico della Mirandola were willing to learn it, but they were the exceptions that proved the rule. The Protestant Reformation changed this situation by creating a motive and providing the means for a much larger number of scholars to learn Hebrew. Hebrew study came to hold a place of honor within Protestant universities, and since the *Ratio studiorum* required Hebrew instruction in Jesuit colleges, the language enjoyed greater standing within post-Tridentine Catholicism as well. In the wake of Hebrew's new prominence Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic learning gained importance, and there was a small but dedicated group of scholars who also studied these languages.

The efforts of university, governmental, and ecclesiastical officials to found and fund positions first for Hebrew and later for other Semitic languages in universities throughout central and western Europe made it possible for a greater number of Christian students to learn Hebrew. While universities were not the only places where Christian scholars could learn Hebrew, the presence of Hebrew within university curricula was an important indicator of official commitment to Hebrew learning in all of the Christian confessions. University professors of Hebrew, together with instructors who taught the language in monasteries or in Latin schools, educated a substantial number of Christians, creating a reading public for Hebrew books and thus the possibility of a serious Christian encounter with Jewish thought.

Why Hebrew?

Since the Hebrew Bible, the Christian Old Testament, was written in Hebrew, and Christians “shared” this sacred text with Jews, there had always been an implicit motivation for Christians to learn Hebrew. Not only did they wish to understand individual passages within the Old Testament better, but they also had an apologetic need to justify

their interpretations in the eyes of Jews and if possible to convert them to Christianity.¹ Until the early sixteenth century, however, very few Christian scholars felt any need to learn Hebrew for themselves. Nonetheless, both the intellectual justifications for Hebrew learning offered by the church fathers and the example of Christian Hebraists of earlier times inspired early modern Christians to follow their admonitions and example.

The Church Fathers Jerome, Origen and Augustine all commended Hebrew study for a variety of reasons. Both Augustine and Jerome believed that Hebrew was the oldest of all languages, the “mother of all languages,” the only language created before the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11).² The Old Testament was composed in Hebrew, and therefore, in Jerome’s words, it was the “spring” (*fons*) while Greek and Latin translations of it were mere streams (*rivuli*) flowing out of it. Jerome asserted the absolute primacy of the Hebrew Bible text over both the Septuagint and the various Latin versions of the Old Testament, while Augustine was more inclined to ascribe greater authority to the Septuagint.³ Yet Augustine too believed that recourse to the Hebrew text was valuable. Christian scholars needed to know both Hebrew and Greek, he asserted, in order to establish the correct meaning when Latin translations were unclear.⁴ Jerome and Augustine both believed that Latin Bible translations contained errors and that they could be corrected by comparing them with the original Hebrew.⁵ More broadly, many of the church fathers believed that the Hebrew intellectual tradition was the oldest in the world, predating both Egyptian and Greek civilization. They asserted that since both of these civilizations derived their ideas from the Jews, studying Hebrew and reading Hebrew texts made possible a return to the sources of secular as well as sacred learning.⁶

¹ Deeana Copeland Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Readings of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 1, 3.

² Jerome, *Commentarii in prophetas minores: Naum, Abacuc, Sophoniam, Aggaeum, Zachariam, Malachiam*, CCSL 76A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), 708, l. 541–542. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, 14., 4, 11. Origen believed that Hebrew was the language of Adam. See Naomi Janowitz, “Theories of Divine Names in Origen and Pseudo-Dionysius,” *History of Religions* 30 (1991): 359–372, here 363, n. 17.

³ Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship and the Hebrew Bible: a Study of the Quaestiones hebraicae in Genesim* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 42–43, 45.

⁴ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2.11. See also 2.15 and 2.7 and 2.15.

⁵ Kamesar, *Jerome*, 70–72; Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, 2.11.

⁶ Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 2: 460a–636b = books 10–12.

Familiarity with Hebrew and with the Hebrew Bible was also important for Christians who wished to debate with Jews. Part of Origen's motivation in composing the Hexapla was to provide information on the discrepancies between the various Greek translations and the Hebrew original in order to "save Christians from being charged with ignorance of the original text in disputes with Jews."⁷ While Augustine was content to commend the study of Greek and Hebrew to those who had "the leisure and the ability" to do so,⁸ Origen and Jerome set an example for later scholars by actually learning Hebrew themselves. Origen learned it when he was already an old man "against the natural inclination of his age and race."⁹

A small number of medieval Christian theologians pursued Hebrew studies, focusing their efforts on correcting the received text of the Vulgate, biblical exegesis, and composing missionary treatises of various kinds. The pioneering work of Beryl Smalley drew attention to the sporadic but intriguing efforts of some medieval Christian Hebraists to integrate Jewish learning into theological discourse.¹⁰ Alcuin and Theodulf were among the earliest "correctors" of the Vulgate, the latter employing a (converted?) Jew to compare the Latin text with the Hebrew. Both Dominican and Franciscan Hebraists, working during the thirteenth century, created the *correctoria* Bible, an apparatus whose authors compared the Latin Old Testament to the Hebrew.¹¹ The aim of these scholars, from Carolingian times to the thirteenth century, was to cleanse the Latin text of accretions that were not present in the Hebrew Bible, providing the "best" Latin text.¹²

⁷ Ibid., 6. Jerome's *Iuxta Hebraeos* translation had a similar purpose. Kamesar, *Jerome*, 38.

⁸ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr. (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1958), 48; *De doctrina Christiana* 2.14.

⁹ Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, chap. 54 in: MPL 23, col. 665, quoted by Robert Wakefield, *One the Three Languages*, ed. and trans. Gareth Lloyd Jones (Binghamton, NY: MRTS, 1989), 88.

¹⁰ Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952). For a recent assessment of her work, see Michael A. Signer, "Polemic and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth-Century Hebraism," in: *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 21–32.

¹¹ Gilbert Dahan, "Genres, Forms and Various Methods in Christian Exegesis of the Middle Ages," in: *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages*, part 2: *The Middle Ages*, ed. Magne Saebø with Chris Breckelmans and Menahem Haran (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 196–236, here 227–228 and the literature cited there.

¹² Signer, "Polemic and Exegesis," 23–25.

The most important Christian medieval exegete to employ Hebrew in a biblical commentary was Nicholas of Lyra (c.1270–1349). Nicholas' use of Rashi's biblical commentary, translating substantial parts of it into Latin and incorporating it into his discussions of specific biblical passages in his *Postillae*, provided an example of how Christians could benefit from the study of Jewish texts. Klepper asserts that Nicholas was able to do this through a deft combination of exegetical sifting and occasional anti-Jewish polemic, demonstrating for his readers the extent to which Jews could be trusted to understand the literal interpretation of a passage and where they were blind to its meaning.¹³ Paradoxically Nicholas did such a fine job that he may have created a disincentive for others to follow in his footsteps. What after all was there left to do that Nicholas had not already done? While Nicholas of Lyra stands out among medieval Christian Hebraists, he was hardly the only one of his kind. For example, Herbert of Bosham (d. ca. 1194) wrote an intriguing Psalms commentary at the end of his life that reflected not only his fine Hebrew skills but also a close engagement with Rashi's commentary.¹⁴ A number of medieval bilingual Hebrew manuscripts (with Latin translation included) written in England provide further evidence of Christian Hebrew learning there.¹⁵

Christian Hebrew exegetes in the Middle Ages were often isolated figures. The same cannot be said for Christian Hebraists who specialized in anti-Jewish polemical works or missionary efforts. Medieval Spain with its large populations of Jews and Muslims became the focus of intense missionary efforts after the founding of the Franciscan (1209) and Dominican orders (1216). Robert Chazan identified the disputation of Barcelona (1263) as a turning point in the history of Christian missionary strategy, since the Christian spokesman Pablo Christiani constructed his argument against the validity of Judaism using quotations from the Talmud and other Jewish sources.¹⁶ The most important book to emerge from this new approach to Jewish polemic was Raymond Martin's *Pugio fidei*, an encyclopedic work that was intended to serve as a source of information for

¹³ Klepper, *Insight of Unbelievers*, 1, 5.

¹⁴ Deborah L. Goodwin, "Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew": Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* 126 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006).

¹⁵ Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar among Christian Scholars in pre-Expulsion England: The evidence of 'bilingual' Hebrew-Latin manuscripts," in: *Hebrew Scholarship and the Medieval World*, ed. Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 107–128. See also Goodwin, *Take Hold of the Robe*, 143–163.

¹⁶ Robert Chazan, *Daggers of Faith: Thirteenth-Century Christian Missionizing and Jewish Response* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 67–85, 115–136.

missions to both the Jews and Muslims. *Pugio fidei* would be used by many Christian polemicists both in the later Middle Ages and in the great age of Christian Hebraism. It would be printed twice, in 1651 and 1667.¹⁷ The missionary concerns of the medieval church are reflected in the famous decree of the Council of Vienne (1311–1312) that called for the creation of university chairs in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic at the universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca. One unintended effect of this decree was its use by later scholars to justify the “return to the sources.”¹⁸ While the universities largely ignored the council decree, the Dominican order supported schools so that its own members could learn Hebrew and Arabic.¹⁹

The Christian encounter with Jewish texts during the Middle Ages was limited to the studies of a small number of experts, some of whom, such as Paul of Burgos, were Jewish converts. Very few Christian scholars could read the Hebrew Bible for themselves, let alone more complicated books written in Hebrew or Aramaic. The authority of church fathers such as Augustine and Jerome provided a rationale for Hebrew learning and indeed some encouragement to do so. Christian society, however, had little need for the services of Hebrew experts. Nicholas of Lyra and Raymond Martin had written commendable books that other scholars could consult should they need Hebrew-related information. Only during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries did Christian scholars find compelling reasons to learn Hebrew for themselves.

Renaissance humanism proved to be a powerful motivating force for scholars to learn Hebrew and for patrons to support their studies. The humanist desire to explore old texts for insight and information manifested itself in three ways: a yearning for the new wisdom that kabbalistic learning offered, a desire to return to the source texts of the Christian faith including the Hebrew Bible, and the theological imperative to dispute with Jews.²⁰

¹⁷ *Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum Adversus Mauros, Et Iudaeos* (Paris: Henault, 1651) and VD17 7:705719G.

¹⁸ Berthold Altaner, “Die Durchführung des Vienenr Konzilsbeschlusses über die Errichtung von Lehrstühlen für orientalische Sprachen,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 52 (1933): 226–236.

¹⁹ Idem, “Die Fremdsprachliche Ausbildung der Dominikanermissionare während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 23 (1933): 233–241, here 236–241.

²⁰ Saverio Campanini, “Die Geburt der Judaistik aus dem Geist der Christlichen Kabbalah,” in: *Gottes Sprache in der philologischen Werkstatt: Hebraistik vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Giuseppe Veltri and Gerold Necker (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 135–145.

Count Giovanni Pico della Mirandola introduced the Christian world of scholarship to Kabbalah through his *900 Theses* (1486), at least forty-seven of which referred specifically to kabbalistic ideas.²¹ Pico himself had learned rudimentary Hebrew, but he also hired Flavius Mithridates, a Jewish convert, to translate the known corpus of Jewish kabbalistic writing for him.²² Pico believed that kabbalistic literature was even older than classical Greek literature and that it could to be mined for information and for insight into what he and Marsilio Ficino termed the *Prisca theologica*. Schmidt-Biggemann described the *Prisca theologica* as an inclusive form of Neoplatonic philosophy that sought to harmonize Christian, Jewish, and Muslim thought within a theistic framework that assumed the existence of one God, the created world, and the Last Judgment. Proponents believed that God created the world in two stages, first by conceiving the ideas of things he was planning on creating in his own mind, and then realizing them in creation itself. As a consequence of this two-step process, all created things carried a kind of “divine signature” that could teach theological truths. These truths were thought to be accessible to pagans as well as to Christians, and therefore wisdom could be found in a variety of ancient sources. A number of the church fathers, including Clement of Alexandria and Origen, espoused this position concerning classical literature, but Pico was the first to incorporate kabbalistic writings into the mix.²³ Yet Pico’s greatest influence on the growth of Christian Hebrew learning came not through his own kabbalistic studies, but by persuading Johannes Reuchlin to study the Kabbalah.

Johannes Reuchlin was a jurist and diplomat who pursued his passion for Hebrew and Greek learning as a side interest.²⁴ When he traveled to Italy on a diplomatic mission in 1490, he had the opportunity to meet Pico

²¹ Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola’s Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 19–52.

²² He also hired Yohannan Allemano and Elijah del Medigo to translate Jewish texts for him. Joseph Dan, *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and Their Christian Interpreters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 201–203. On Del Medigos translations of Hebrew books, see M. David Geffen, “Faith and Reason in Elijah Del Medigo’s *Behinat Ha-Daat* and the Philosophic Backgrounds of the Work” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1970), 11–20, 25–26.

²³ Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought*, International Archives of the History of Ideas 189 (Dordrecht: Springer, 2004), 27–28, 32.

²⁴ On Reuchlin, see David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

in Florence. On his second trip to Italy, Reuchlin stayed in Rome from 1498–1500, and he was able to study Hebrew with Obadiah Sforza.²⁵ Reuchlin's two books on the Kabbalah, *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) and *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517), served to popularize kabbalistic learning. His book *De Rudimenta* (Pforzheim, 1506), which contained a Hebrew grammar and lexicon, provided both biblical humanists and would-be kabbalists with a means of learning Hebrew themselves. It was Reuchlin who would also provide a humanistic justification for studying Jewish literature more broadly in his *Gutachten über das Jüdische Schriftum* (1510), written for an imperial commission that was summoned to study Johann Pfefferkorn's proposal to confiscate Jewish books.²⁶ Reuchlin argued that the Talmud contained information valuable to the most important university-level disciplines (theology, law, and medicine).

[I]t contains many good medical prescriptions and information about plants and roots, as well as good legal verdicts collected from all over the world by experienced Jews. And in theology the Talmud offers in many passages arguments against the wrong faith. This can be seen from the bishop of Burgos's books concerning the Bible, which he has written in a praiseworthy and Christian manner and in the *Scrutinium Scripturarum*, in which he clearly protects our faith on the basis of the Talmud.

Reuchlin noted that Paul of Burgos quoted Talmudic passages more than fifty times in the latter book.²⁷ He concluded that, with the exception of a few blasphemous books such as *Toledot Yesu* and *Sefer Nizzahon*, the Jews indeed had the legal right to own their own religious books, including the Talmud.²⁸

It was Reuchlin's misfortune that his enemies interpreted his humanist interests as favoritism for Jews. When Emperor Maximilian I refused to

²⁵ Saverio Campanini, "Reuchlins jüdische Lehrer aus Italien," in: *Reuchlin und Italien*, ed. Gerald Dörner, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 7 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1999), 69–85, here 77–78. The entire work is available in English translation: Johannes Reuchlin, *Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy, and Burn all Jewish Books: a Classic Treatise against Anti-semitism*, trans. and ed. Peter Wortsman, with a critical introduction by Elisheva Carlebach (New York: Paulist Press, 2000).

²⁶ The original opinion was submitted on 6 October 1510, and was subsequently printed with annotations in Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* (Tübingen: Anselm, 1511) as a part of his pamphlet war with Pfefferkorn. Erika Rummel, *The Case against Johann Reuchlin: Religious and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 88. RSW 4/1: 27–64.

²⁷ Rummel, *Case against Johann Reuchlin*, 92.

²⁸ Friedrich Lotter, "Der Rechtsstatus der Juden in den Schriften Reuchlins zum Pfefferkornstreit," in: *Reuchlin und die Juden*, ed. Arno Herzig and Julius H. Schoeps, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 3 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993), 65–88, here 67.

act on the recommendation of his own commission and instead ordered the return of the confiscated books to their Jewish owners, Pfefferkorn and his backers in the Dominican order, above all Jacob Hoogstraten, were furious. They blamed Reuchlin for the failure of their campaign and sought revenge against him. Johannes Pfefferkorn published *Handspiegel* (1511), in which he condemned the Talmud and blamed Reuchlin for saving it from destruction, citing Reuchlin's report to the emperor and raising doubts about his honor and integrity. Reuchlin shot back with his *Augenspiegel* (1511), where he sought to set the record straight by publishing his *Gutachten über das Jüdische Schriftum*.

Reuchlin's conflict with Pfefferkorn and his backers, which continued through 1521, proceeded along two tracks. The first battle took place in the courts, culminating in an appeal to a papal court in 1516, a case that Reuchlin formally lost and was fined to pay for court costs. The other track was a battle for public opinion that in many ways overshadowed the legal one. Many of Reuchlin's fellow humanists in Germany understood the controversy as an attack on biblical humanist learning and responded with both serious and satirical attacks on Reuchlin's foes. The most famous of the latter was *Letters of Obscure Men* (1514).²⁹

While the kabbalistic interests of Pico and Reuchlin aroused the curiosity of a smallish number of devoted followers, above all Petrus Galatinus and Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, Kabbalah by itself would not have motivated large numbers of Christians to learn Hebrew. Like the medieval scholars who used Hebrew in their exegetical or polemical books, they probably would have remained a tiny group of experts. Reuchlin's kabbalistic study alone would also not have evoked such a spirited response to the attacks of Pfefferkorn and his Dominican sponsors. It was Reuchlin's prominence as a humanist scholar and his interests in biblical studies that aroused such a furious defense by fellow humanists.³⁰

Biblical humanism was the single most important factor that contributed to the growth of widespread Hebrew learning among Christians before the Reformation. Erasmus was not the first Renaissance scholar to heed the church father Jerome's call for a return to the sources by reading the New Testament in its original Greek and the Old Testament in Hebrew, but he was a singularly effective spokesman for Jerome's ideal. In his introduction to the first printed Greek New Testament (1516) he asserted

²⁹ Rummel, *Case against Johann Reuchlin*, ix-x, 18-25.

³⁰ Price, *Johannes Reuchlin*, 175-179.

that knowledge of the biblical languages was essential for theologians.³¹ Two years later, in November of 1518, Erasmus published an expanded version of this introduction under the title *De Ratio seu Compendium Verae Theologiae*.³²

Our first care must be to learn the three languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, for it is plain that the mystery of all Scripture is revealed in them. ... For it is quite impossible to understand what is written, if you are ignorant of the language in which it is written—to say nothing of the role played by other human disciplines. In my opinion, we must not listen to those who grow old and stale involved in sophistical nonsense, saying: “Jerome’s version suffices.” For those who give this answer are most likely people who make no effort even to learn Latin, so that Jerome’s version is wasted on them. As for the rest, I would say it matters a great deal whether you take something from the sources or from some puddle.³³

Erasmus turned primarily to the church fathers to support his position. Although he did not know Hebrew, Augustine of Hippo stated in his book *De Doctrina Christiana* that scholars “need two other [languages besides Latin] for a knowledge of the Divine Scriptures, Hebrew and Greek, so that they may turn back to earlier exemplars if the infinite variety of Latin translations gives rise to any doubts.”³⁴ The example of Jerome’s return to the sources in order to translate the Bible into Latin was compelling for Erasmus as well. Hebrew, Greek and Latin were holy not only since they were the languages of the Bible, but also because they were the languages of the cross. When Pontius Pilate ordered the sign affixed to the cross bearing the statement “Jesus the Nazarene, the King of the Jews,” it was in these three languages (John 19:19–20) and was consecrated by his blood.³⁵

Erasmus’ call for Christians to learn the biblical languages to enable them to return to the sources found a ready audience among humanists. Peter Mosellanus, the newly appointed professor of Greek at the University

³¹ Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, Band 8: *In Novum Testamentum Praefationes Vorreden zum Neuen Testament, Ratio Theologische Methodenlehre*, ed. and trans. Gerhard B. Winkler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 43.

³² Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, 4 vols. (1951; reprint: Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1976), 1: 329.

³³ Quoted and translated by Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), 112–113. See Erasmus, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 8:131–133.

³⁴ Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, Book 2.11 and Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 43.

³⁵ Erasmus’s annotation on Luke 23:23 in his Greek New Testament, LB VI 325 F; quoted by Shimon Markish, *Erasmus and the Jews*, trans. Anthony Olcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 114.

of Leipzig, delivered an oration, published in 1518, in which he quoted all of Erasmus' arguments and added to their number. Mosellanus pointed out that age was no excuse for refusing to learn the languages, for Origen had learned Hebrew when he was already an old man. He argued that the Catholic Church had long favored instruction in the biblical languages, citing the Council of Vienne decree of 1312.³⁶ Philip Melancthon, appointed to serve as professor of Greek at the rival university of Wittenberg in 1518, asserted in his inaugural lecture:

Since theological writings are partly in Hebrew, partly in Greek—for we Latins drink from these streams—we must learn foreign languages lest we go into our encounters with theologians blindfolded. It is language studies that bring out the splendor of words and the meaning of idioms and ... as we turn our minds to the sources, we begin to savor Christ.³⁷

Certainly the most verbose proponent of the new learning, however, was Robert Wakefield, newly appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Oxford. In addition to the points Erasmus made, Wakefield asserted, following Jerome, that Hebrew was the mother of all languages, created specially by God for Adam, and was in fact the language of all humankind until the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11).³⁸ Hebrew, Wakefield asserted, would always enjoy a special status in the church not only for its sacred character but also because of its cultural significance. Echoing a number of the church fathers, he believed that Hebrew culture and learning not only predated classical Greek culture but was its source. Wakefield found the example of the church fathers compelling since not only Jerome but also Origen, Patriarch Huillus, Eusebius, Clement, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian knew Hebrew.³⁹ Origen, Nicholas of Lyra, Reuchlin, and Erasmus he asserted, had all learned Hebrew in their old age, setting a salutary example for biblical scholars of all ages.⁴⁰ Post-biblical Jewish literature also contained "many arcane and hidden secrets of the faith," a reference to the Kabbalah.⁴¹ These arguments in praise of Hebrew,

³⁶ Wim François, "The Plea by the Humanist Petrus Mosellanus for a Knowledge of the Three Biblical Languages," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 98/3–4 (2003): 438–481, here 457, 448.

³⁷ CR 11: 15–25, here 23, translated by Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 115.

³⁸ Wakefield, *On the Three Languages*, 72. Jerome stated this in his comment on Zephaniah 3:18 in CC SL 76A, 704.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 60, 150–168.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 88–90. Erasmus' own evaluation of his knowledge of Hebrew was much more modest. Markish, *Erasmus*, 52–53, 138.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 68.

made to encourage Hebrew learning, would be endlessly used and reused throughout the Reformation era.⁴² Other theologians, however, and especially Catholic ones, would continue to question the value of Hebrew learning.

Erasmus' call for a return to Scripture and for learning the biblical languages was a part of his program for a reform of the church. By publishing both the Greek New Testament and new editions of the church fathers, he hoped to call the church back to its roots and to equip the church's leaders intellectually to make the necessary reforms. Erasmus stirred up controversy among traditionalist theologians, above all in Louvain, Paris, and Salamanca. They felt that Erasmus had no business writing about theological matters since he lacked the requisite training and doctorate in theology, but his vision and works were by no means considered beyond the pale of orthodoxy.⁴³ Erasmus had in fact dedicated his Greek New Testament edition to Pope Leo X.⁴⁴ What Erasmus could not have predicted, however, was the perfect storm of religious controversy that would erupt when his quarrel with traditionalist theologians blended with the Reuchlin affair and the outbreak of the Reformation in Wittenberg, all of which took place at about the same time.

Bernd Moeller termed the identification of humanists with Protestant Reformers a "constructive misunderstanding."⁴⁵ It was a perfectly understandable confusion in some respects. Traditionalist Catholic theologians objected to humanist philologists who lacked the requisite theological training, but who used new linguistic tools to translate and interpret biblical texts. When Protestant theologians with humanist training began to do the same thing, reaching theologically heterodox conclusions in the process, these Catholic theologians felt that their misgivings about humanism had been realized.⁴⁶ Hoogstraten, for example, wrote *Destructio*

⁴² Peter T. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden*, trans. J. C. Grayson, *Studies in the History of Leiden University* 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 57–89.

⁴³ Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 99.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 110. Pope Leo X received a number of dedications of biblical works, including the Complutensian Polyglot Bible and the first printing of the Rabbinic Bible. See Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* 137 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 45 n. 60, 52.

⁴⁵ Bernd Moeller, "Die Deutsche Humanisten und die Anfänge der Reformation," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 70 (1959): 46–61, here 54.

⁴⁶ Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10.

Cabalae seu Cabalisticae perfidiae (1519) against Reuchlin, but in the preface he also urged Pope Leo X to take action against Luther.⁴⁷ Jacob Latomus wrote against both Erasmus and Luther.⁴⁸ Many older Catholic biblical humanists, of course, felt that this identification was nonsense. Erasmus himself complained about one common witticism, “Either Luther erasmianizes or Erasmus lutheranizes,” by asserting, “I have as much in common with Luther as the cuckoo with the nightingale.”⁴⁹ Johannes Reuchlin not only refused to identify with Luther and his followers, but he even disowned his heir Philip Melanchthon in 1521 and donated his famous library to the St. Michael’s Foundation (Michaelsstift) in Pforzheim instead.⁵⁰ Biblical humanists did not all become Protestants, but they did continue to pursue Hebrew learning wherever their theological loyalties lay.

Protestant biblical humanists resembled their Catholic counterparts in their devotion to reading and interpreting the Hebrew Bible text using newly available linguistic tools, but they also had a more fundamental reason for doing so. The Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* made Hebrew learning decisively important for them in a way that it would never be for Catholic scholars, either before or after the Council of Trent.

The Reformation movement began in late 1517, after Luther complained publicly about the sale of indulgences by issuing his 95 Theses. Within a year Luther and his followers had realized that, while they had many disagreements with traditional Catholicism and with the church hierarchy over doctrine and practice, the issue of religious authority lay at the heart of many of these differences. On 9 September 1519, Philip Melanchthon defended the thesis that “No Catholic must believe any other doctrines, but those that are proven by the Scripture” in his qualifying examination for a bachelor of theology degree at Wittenberg. Luther’s comment afterward was “Bold, but true.”⁵¹ Earlier that same year Luther had participated in the Disputation of Leipzig, and in his encounter with Johannes Eck he

⁴⁷ Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, vol. 1: *His Road to Reformation, 1483–1521* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 309.

⁴⁸ Wim François, “Ad divinarum rerum cognitionem. Petrus Mosellanus and Jacobus Latomus on Biblical or Scholastic Theology,” *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 29/2–3 (2005), 13–47, here 24. On Latomus’ books against Luther, see Jerry H. Bentley, “New Testament Scholarship at Louvain in the Early Sixteenth Century,” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, n. s. 2 (1979): 51–79, here 60.

⁴⁹ François, “Ad divinarum,” 9.

⁵⁰ Heinz Scheible, “Reuchlins Einfluss auf Melanchthon,” in: *Reuchlin und die Juden*, 123–149, here 128.

⁵¹ Idem, *Melanchthon: Eine Biographie* (München: C. H. Beck, 1997), 137.

was forced to admit under questioning that he believed that popes and church councils could err, even if he did not say so as forthrightly as he would later at the Diet of Worms in 1521.⁵²

In these instances Melanchthon and Luther gave voice to the idea of *sola scriptura*, a distinctly Protestant doctrine stating that the Bible and the Bible alone was the sole source of religious authority for establishing doctrine and practice within the church and for settling religious controversies. One implication of this doctrine was that Protestant theologians and clergymen had a more powerful reason to learn at least the rudiments of Hebrew than any of their predecessors since the first century CE. It thus ensured that Hebrew instruction would be broadly available to theologians in Protestant lands. Since both Catholics and Protestants taught and believed that the Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, was divinely-inspired Scripture, quarrels over the correct interpretation of passages in the Hebrew Bible inevitably would become part of the larger theological conflict between them. If humanism, whether the speculative humanism of Pico or the biblical humanism of Erasmus provided the initial impetus for some Christians to learn Hebrew, the theological needs of Protestants and Catholics motivated far greater numbers of Christians to pursue Hebrew learning.

Finding Instruction

One can only marvel at the ingenuity and tenacity of Christian Hebraists of Reuchlin's day in trying to find Hebrew instruction wherever and however they could.⁵³ Reuchlin himself persuaded or paid three different Jews to tutor him in Hebrew before the year 1500, including an otherwise unknown Jew named Kalman (1486), Jacob ben Jehiel Loans, personal physician to Emperor Frederick III in Linz (1492), and Obadiah Sforno (1498–1500) in Rome. His former heir Melanchthon reported that Obadiah charged Reuchlin one gold piece (*singulos aureos*) per hour of instruction.⁵⁴ Conrad Pellican had an even more difficult time learning Hebrew

⁵² Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 1: 319–322, 460.

⁵³ Stephen G. Burnett, "Jüdische Vermittler des Hebräischen und ihrer christlichen Schüler im Spätmittelalter," in: *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Ludger Grenzmann, Thomas Haye, Nikolaus Henkel and Thomas Kaufmann, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, n. s. 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 173–188, here 173–74, 181–82.

⁵⁴ CR II, col. 1004, quoted by Campanini, "Reuchlins jüdische Lehrer aus Italien," 78.

and was largely self-taught. In 1499, he began to study the language by using a Hebrew manuscript of the latter prophets,⁵⁵ together with a few transcribed Hebrew phrases from the book of Isaiah that he found in Peter Schwarz's *Tractatus contra perfidos Judeos* (1475) and the Vulgate.⁵⁶ In July of 1500 he traveled to Tübingen and met Reuchlin, who explained a few elements of the Hebrew verbal system to him. Then in August he visited a priest named Johannes Boehm in Ulm, who owned two excerpts of Moses Kimhi's Hebrew grammar. Boehm willingly lent his manuscripts to Pellican so that he could copy them.⁵⁷ In 1513 Matthias Adrianus tutored Pellican in Hebrew, and in 1538 he studied Talmud with Michael Adam; both men were Jewish converts. In the earliest days of Renaissance Christian Hebraism, Jewish assistance was necessary to learn Hebrew.

Scholars have long known that Christian Hebraism began in Italy and only later came to Germany. One important reason for this was that in Italy there were more social settings where "semi-neutral" encounters between Christians and Jews could take place without great scandal, and therefore where scholarly exchanges could occur.⁵⁸ To begin with, both noble and ecclesiastical courts hosted such activity. While the household of Pico della Mirandola comes most quickly to mind, there were others as well. The twelve year long period that Elias Levita lived in the household of Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo (1515–1527) was beneficial both for the Cardinal and for Levita, whose work the cardinal supported until his death in 1532.⁵⁹ A Jew who was employed in a Christian nobleman's court

⁵⁵ The manuscript was a gift from Paul of Pfedersheim, a baptized Jew and fellow Franciscan monk. Konrad Pellikan, *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan*. ed. Bernhard Rüggenbach (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1877), 16–17.

⁵⁶ On Peter Schwartz (Petrus Nigri), see Christopher Ocker, "German Theologians and the Jews in the Fifteenth Century," in: *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Dean P. Bell and Stephen G. Burnett, *Studies in Central European Histories* 37 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 33–65, here 46–47.

⁵⁷ Thomas Willi, "Der Beitrag des Hebräischen zum Werden der Reformation in Basel," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 35 (1979): 139–154, here 141. Cf. Bernhard Walde, *Christliche Hebräisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1916), 190–94.

⁵⁸ The phrase "semi-neutral encounters" was inspired by Jacob Katz's phrase "semi-neutral society." Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation: 1770–1870* (New York: Schocken, 1978), 42–43. See Burnett, "Jüdische Vermittler des Hebräischen," 177.

⁵⁹ Francis X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar. Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo 1469–1532* (Villanova, Pa.: Augustinian Press, 1992), 169–171. Later Bishop Georges de Selve supported Levita's work. Gérard Weil, *Élie Lévitte Humaniste et Massorète (1469–1549)*, *Studia Post-Biblica* 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), 120–26.

did not have to defend his scholarly contacts with his employer to Christians, although fellow Jews at times raised such questions.⁶⁰

There were far fewer social settings in northern Europe comparable to those in Italy. The Jews had long since been expelled from France, except for an enclave under papal rule in the Avignon area, and from England. German Jewry had suffered a series of expulsions from cities in the late fifteenth century that forced Jews to either live in smaller villages or to leave for more hospitable places.⁶¹ The Sencino family and the family of Elias Levita moved to northern Italy,⁶² while others chose to move eastward and settle in Poland. There were few courts in Germany where there was any sort of interest at all in Hebraica. Johann von Dalberg, Bishop of Worms in the late fifteenth century, had an interest in Hebrew and he assembled a Hebraica collection.⁶³ He gave some of his Hebrew manuscripts to Reuchlin, most notably a copy of *Sefer Nizzahon*.⁶⁴ There was also a certain degree of interest in Hebrew learning among monks in German monasteries, especially after the printing of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*.⁶⁵

In Germany, Jewish tutors could and did provide Hebrew instruction to students, but it could be a very frustrating experience for both parties. Ashkenazic Jews began to learn Hebrew as children within the family, by attending synagogue services, learning the alphabet and some vocabulary and how to read the text aloud.⁶⁶ When children were old enough to

⁶⁰ Elias Levita felt compelled to explain his relations with Cardinal Viterbo in the introduction to his *Masoreth-Ha-Masoret*. See *The Massoreth Ha-Masoreth of Elias Levita, Being an Explanation of the Massoretic Notes of the Hebrew Bible*, trans. Christian D. Ginsburg (1867; reprint ed., New York: KTAV, 1968), 96–98. See also Zelda Kahan Newman, "Elye Levita: A Man and his Book on the Cusp of Modernity," *Shofar* 24/4 (2006): 90–109.

⁶¹ Michael Toch, "Aspects of Stratification of Early Modern German Jewry: Population History and Village Jews," in: *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Washington, D.C. and Cambridge: German Historical Institute/Cambridge University Press, 1995), 77–89.

⁶² David Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (London: Holland Press, 1963), 51–52, and Weil, *Élie Lévi*, 3–26.

⁶³ Johannes Reuchlin to Johannes von Dalberg, Stuttgart, after 21 April 1494. In: RBW 1: 220, lines 34–40, no. 64.

⁶⁴ Campanini, "Reuchlins Jüdische Lehrer," 78, and Karl Preisendanz, "Eine neue Handschrift aus Johann Reuchlins Bibliothek," *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* n. s. (1936): 100–111, here 107–108.

⁶⁵ These men included above all Conrad Pellican, Sebastian Münster and Caspar Amman, but also some of Reuchlin's correspondents such as the monks of Ottobeuren.

⁶⁶ Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis. Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Bernard Dov Cooperman (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 156–58, 162–63.

attend school or to study with private tutors, they would learn Hebrew by reading lines from the prayer book or the Bible aloud to practice their pronunciation and also to prepare them to participate in synagogue services. They translated individual words in sentences one after another into the local language, usually without learning to tie the words together syntactically. The result of such a “lesson” might be a translated phrase like “and he said Moses to the king” instead of “and Moses said to the king” as a translation of the Hebrew phrase *va-yomer Moshe el ha-Melek*.⁶⁷ Older students were also expected to read and translate Targum Onkelos and the Pentateuch commentary of Rashi.⁶⁸

Christian students found it quite difficult to learn Hebrew in this fashion, since they had almost no connection with the spoken Hebrew language. When a Christian student learned Hebrew or Aramaic from a tutor, it normally involved the tutor’s reading a passage and providing a translation without much in the way of grammatical explanation. Pellican’s Talmud lessons with Michael Adam during the late 1530’s and early 1540’s were probably fairly typical of such encounters in the German-speaking world. Adam spoke no Latin at all and could not write German, so whenever the two men met to read Talmud together, Adam translated the passage from Aramaic into German, and then Pellican translated the German into Latin. Pellican would then have to figure out the grammatical features of the passage for himself. It was an uncomfortable situation for both men.⁶⁹ Joseph Scaliger had a much more pleasurable experience learning to read the Talmud with his Leiden colleague Philip Ferdinand, a Jewish convert. Scaliger wrote,

⁶⁷ Isidore Fishman, *The History of Jewish Education in Central Europe, from the End of the Sixteenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London: E. Goldston, 1944) 90. *Seyfer beeyr Moushe* (Prague, 1604) offers an example of the kind of language instruction offered during the early seventeenth century. Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, ed. and trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 102–103. By the end of the sixteenth century some rabbinical authorities such as Rabbi Loew of Prague and some Hebrew pedagogues began to urge that students should be taught syntax as well. Chava Turniansky, “From Daily Life to Historiography: Jewish Prague in Early Modern Yiddish Texts” (conference paper presented at “Judah Loew and Jewish Life in Early Modern Prague,” Princeton University, 6–7 December 2009).

⁶⁸ Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Philo, 1966.), 1: 104–5. See also Ephraim Kanarfogel, *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1992), 30–31.

⁶⁹ Conrad Gesner reported: “usus est opera neophyti cuiusdam ex Judaeis, non satis feliciter.” Quoted by Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526–1556* (Zürich: Theologische Verlag, 1975), 172, n. 4.

"[W]e read a great deal of the Talmud together with equal profit and pleasure. ... He had learnt the Talmud by memory from his boyhood, following the custom of the Jews, without any grammatical instruction. Therefore I often corrected him on points of grammar, and he was quite willing to have me show him these things. But his skill as a Talmudist was extraordinary, and such as only a Jew who has been trained since childhood can attain. Therefore the efforts of our Christians are certainly vain. They can learn nothing in that literature perfectly without the help of a Jew trained in the Jewish manner.⁷⁰

Even after Hebrew instruction became widely available to Christians, to study Talmud a number of Christian scholars hired Jewish tutors throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, following the example of Pellican and Scaliger.⁷¹

In Italy, by contrast, there were Jews who had learned Latin and were familiar with the pedagogy of classical languages, and so were able to tailor their lessons accordingly. Abraham de Balmes, Obadiah Sforno, and Jacob Martino all had completed medical degrees, as had the baptized Jews Matthias Adrianus, Paulus Ricius, and Paul Weidner. A university education was hardly an absolute necessity for becoming an effective Jewish Hebrew teacher to Christians. If that were so Elias Levita would not have had a career, and he was perhaps the best Hebrew teacher of his time. Having said this, a university education could smooth the path for Jews who dealt with Christian scholars. Some Italian Jews also learned Hebrew in the Sephardic manner, which involved both grammar instruction and textual learning, using textbooks such as Moses and David Kimhi's grammars. Once these grammars were translated or otherwise adapted for Christian use, whether by Jews or Christian Hebraists, Christian students had an easier time learning Hebrew.

University Chairs of Hebrew

The humanist call for scholars to learn the biblical languages and to return to the sources was heeded not only by scholars but also by wealthy and powerful patrons who were willing to provide tangible support to make university-level instruction in Greek and Hebrew a reality. Since many

⁷⁰ Quoted and translated by Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2: *Historical Chronology* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1993), 496.

⁷¹ Van Rooden, *Theology*, 119, 163 n. 271.

universities in the early 1500's were groupings of colleges, each of which provided its own instruction to students (the University of Paris had forty of these), founding a new college devoted to humanist learning, with its own funding, was a logical way of integrating the new humanist learning into the university structure.⁷² The first to adopt this approach was Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, founder of the University of Alcalá, which opened its doors in 1508. The largest and most important of the university's eight colleges was the College of San Ildefonso where, according to the university's founding constitution, the three biblical languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, were to be taught.⁷³ Its first professor of Hebrew was Alfonso de Zamora, who taught there from 1512–1544. In 1518, another trilingual college was founded at the University of Louvain. Erasmus was the driving force behind the foundation of this new college, but its benefactor was Jerome de Busleyden, a wealthy Burgundian churchman. The terms of Busleyden's will called for the construction of a college building and for an endowment to pay the salaries of professors in the three languages so that they would not be dependent upon student fees.⁷⁴ On 30 October 1517, the very first official act of the new trilingual college was to hire Matthias Adrianus to teach Hebrew there.⁷⁵ While Adrianus' tenure there was not particularly successful, he was the first of a number of capable Hebraists who taught there during the sixteenth century, including Jan van den Campen, Nicholas Clenardus and Andreas Balenus [Gennep].

The most important foundation of a separate trilingual college from the perspective of Hebrew studies, however, was King Francis I's foundation at the University of Paris in 1530. In 1517 Francis had already declared his intention to found a college devoted to the study of classical languages, but it was only after the Peace of Cambrai and Francis' return from Spanish captivity that he was able to realize his dream. Encouraged and prodded by Guillaume Budé, Guillaume Cop and Bishop François Poncher, Francis founded a new college (without however endowing a college building to house their lectures) by hiring lecturers in biblical

⁷² Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, "Management and Resources," in: *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 155–209, here 156–157.

⁷³ Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age*, MRTS 212 (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 53–57.

⁷⁴ Basil Hall, "The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible," *Studies in Church History* 5 (1969): 114–146, here 116–117.

⁷⁵ Vocht, *History of the Foundation*, 1: 247.

languages in 1530.⁷⁶ The Collège Royale had a nearly unbroken string of professors of Hebrew from its foundation through the end of the Reformation era, many of them extremely capable scholars.⁷⁷ As a consequence of King Francis I's humanist interests and his willingness to support Hebrew learning, Paris would remain a center of Hebrew study throughout the Reformation era.⁷⁸

Other rulers with an interest in biblical humanism added professorships of Hebrew to existing university faculties. Pope Leo X was the first to take this approach, appointing Agathius Guidacerius as first professor of Hebrew at the Sapienza University in Rome in 1524. His appointment would end in 1527, when the Sack of Rome disrupted all cultural life there.⁷⁹ Guidacerius' successor, Guido Marcelli, would be appointed only in 1563. Wittenberg became the first German university to hire a professor of Hebrew, Johannes Boeschenstein, in 1518. The next year Leipzig University would follow Wittenberg's example, hiring Johannes Cellarius. Both Elector Friedrich and his cousin Duke Georg were motivated by an interest in humanist learning.⁸⁰ The endowed professorships of Hebrew created by King Henry VIII at Oxford and Cambridge Universities in 1540 are further examples of this trend.⁸¹

Wealthy or powerful patrons who were motivated by an interest in biblical humanism arranged for the introduction of Hebrew into university education. Pope Leo X, Duke Georg of Saxony, and King Francis I opposed the Reformation throughout their lives, but they also supported Hebrew and Greek learning. King Henry VIII famously wrote against Luther, opposed papal supremacy, and also supported Hebrew learning through his foundation of Hebrew professorships. Yet the Reformation would provide a far more powerful impetus than princes with humanist leanings for

⁷⁶ R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152, 306–307.

⁷⁷ Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France depuis ses Origines jusqu'à la Fin du Premier Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1893), 381.

⁷⁸ St. Johns College Cambridge is another successful example of a humanist foundation devoted to instruction in the three languages. Gareth Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 98.

⁷⁹ Paul F. Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535," in: *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 227–276, here 248.

⁸⁰ Gustav Bauch, "Die Einführung des hebräischen in Wittenberg," [part 3], *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 48 (1904): 145–160, here 150–152. See also Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983), 33–34.

⁸¹ Lloyd Jones, *Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England*, 192.

founding professorships of Hebrew in both Catholic and Protestant lands and ensuring their continued existence.

For Protestant theologians, Hebrew instruction was a theological necessity because of their doctrine of *sola scriptura*. Accordingly, once Hebrew was introduced in a Lutheran university, whether it already existed in 1517 or was founded later, the subject usually became a permanent part of the curriculum. As new universities were founded in territories whose rulers had adopted Lutheranism as the state confession, professorships of Hebrew were nearly always incorporated into them.

While the figures provided in Table 1.1 do not speak to the quality or depth of Hebrew instruction at any of these institutions, they indicate an institutional commitment to the discipline, making these universities places where students could learn the language and where Christian Hebrew books could readily be bought and sold.

In European countries or territories where Reformed Protestantism was the official confession, universities were similarly committed to

Table 1.1. Hebrew instruction at Lutheran universities

University	Hebrew Instruction Began	Total years Hebrew taught from founding to 1660
Wittenberg	1518	142
Strasbourg	1523	137
Copenhagen	1537	123
Frankfurt/Oder	1538	122
Leipzig	1519	120
Tübingen	1521	114
Rostock	1553	107
Jena	1557	106
Erfurt	1566	95
Königsberg	1546	89
Altdorf	1578	79
Helmstedt	1578	75
Greifswald	1605	56
Uppsala	1609	56
Giessen	1607	50
Rinteln	1622	11
Dorpat	1632	25
Åbo = Turku	1640	17

offering Hebrew instruction, since they too espoused and taught the doctrine of *sola scriptura*.

Apart from the Swiss cantons that adopted the Reformed faith and the universities of the Dutch Republic, Reformed universities often led an uncertain existence, which accounts for their often-short lives. The Reformed confession was a minority faith in France and Germany, and their universities often felt the effects of larger political events. The University of Kassel, for example, was founded as a replacement for

Table 1.2. Hebrew instruction at Reformed universities⁸²

University	Hebrew Teaching Began	Total years Hebrew taught from founding to 1660
Basel	1524	136
Bern	1527	132
Marburg	1527	115
Zurich	1525	115
Geneva	1560	101
Heidelberg	1521	95
Leiden	1575	86
Franecker	1585	76
Sedan	1599	67
Herborn	1584	60
Die	1606	55
Harderwijk	1601	54
Saumur	1607	54
Groningen	1618	43
Montauban	1617	43
Utrecht	1636	25
Montpellier	1598	20
Kassel	1633	12
Breda	1644	17
Decebren	1645	17

⁸² I have deliberately left the universities of Orthez and Orleans out of consideration since they offered Hebrew for less than ten years. See Daniel Bourchenin, *Étude sur les académies protestantes en France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (1882; Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), 468, and N. Weiss, "Une des Premières Écoles de Théologie Protestantes en France (Orléans 1561–1568)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 60 (1911): 218–224, here 222.

the re-Lutheranized Marburg University in 1633, only to be shut down once Hesse-Marburg again reverted to the Reformed confession and the university again became Reformed in its theological orientation.⁸³ Both Marburg and Heidelberg were, at times, Reformed and Lutheran, and Heidelberg University briefly reverted to Catholicism from 1629 to 1631, during the Thirty Years War. The smallish French Reformed academies also lived uncertain institutional lives under Catholic rule.

The English universities at Oxford and Cambridge experienced theological turmoil during much of the Reformation era.⁸⁴ After the death of Henry VIII in 1547, England was briefly Protestant under the rule of the regents of King Edward VI (1547–1553), then Catholic under Queen Mary I (1553–1558), and finally Protestant again under Queen Elizabeth I. From 1563, when the Thirty-Nine Articles were adopted as the Church of England's doctrinal standard, until 1646, when the episcopacy was abolished by Parliament, the Anglican church was essentially Reformed in its theological stance, although a powerful and growing Arminian movement emerged under Archbishop Laud.⁸⁵ Under the Protectorate the Reformed character of Oxford and Cambridge if anything became more pronounced. Despite the turmoil of English ecclesiastical affairs, Cambridge and Oxford offered Hebrew to their students longer than most universities, the former beginning in 1520, and the latter in 1522.

Catholic universities present a much less clear picture of theological commitment to Hebrew learning, reflecting not only its lesser importance within Catholic theology, but also its perceived usefulness as a tool for experts who wrote polemics, whether against Protestants or Jews. In sharp contrast to the Protestant universities listed above, most Catholic universities offered Hebrew instruction far less consistently.

While sixteen different Protestant universities offered Hebrew instruction for more than ninety years of the Reformation era, only seven Catholic universities did so. What is most striking about the Catholic institutions that offered Hebrew is that Jesuits came to dominate Hebrew education after 1530.

⁸³ Willem Frijhoff, "Patterns," in: *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 43–110, here 88.

⁸⁴ The Scottish universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews had no regular (or regularly filled) chairs of Hebrew until after 1660, and therefore are not mentioned here.

⁸⁵ Nicholas Tyack, *Anti-Calvinists. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 7–8.

Table 1.3. Hebrew instruction at Catholic universities

University ⁸⁶	Hebrew Instruction Began	Total years Hebrew taught from founding to 1660
Paris	1517	135
Louvain	1520	114
Ingolstadt	1520	114
Rome: <i>Collegio Romano</i>	1553	107
Rome: Sapienza	1524	103
Salamanca	1530	99
Freiburg/Br	1521	90
Vienna	1530?	79
Alcalá	1512	71 ⁸⁷
<i>Douai</i>	1564	58
<i>Prague Clementinum</i>	1556	51
<i>Valencia</i>	1611	51
Cologne	1517	44
<i>Würzburg</i>	1586	42
<i>Mainz</i>	1563	41
<i>Graz</i>	1591	34
<i>Dillingen</i>	1564	38
<i>Milan</i>	1622	36
<i>Toulouse</i>	1604	34
<i>Messina</i>	1558	31
<i>Münster</i>	1625	29
Cracow	1530	29
Prague	1611	25
Pisa	1575	24
<i>Trnava (Tyrnau)</i>	1636	24
<i>Pont-a-Moussan</i>	1584	19
<i>Bordeaux</i>	1604	17

(Continued)

⁸⁶ The college names that are italicized were either founded as Jesuit universities or were older universities that were placed under the control of the Jesuit order. See below.

⁸⁷ The university of Alcalá continued to offer Hebrew during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but I have only been able to find the names of five professors: Alfonso Zamara (1512–44), Alfonso Sanchez (1608–40), Francesco Espinoza (c. 1615), Francesco Porres (1640–45), and Pedro Diaz Mayarga (1648). The number of years I have postulated is a minimum, not the maximum possible.

Table 1.3. (Cont.)

University	Hebrew Instruction Began	Total years Hebrew taught from founding to 1660
<i>Naples</i>	1622	17
<i>Paderborn</i>	1615	13
Bologna ⁸⁸	1520	11

The nine Catholic institutions that offered Hebrew before 1530 were influenced by biblical humanism. The first Hebrew professors at Ingolstadt and Cracow were Johannes Reuchlin and Jan van den Campen respectively. We have already noted when and why the Hebrew professorships were created at the Sapienzia in Rome, at Louvain and in Paris. In his will, Bishop Johannes Fabri provided not only money but also his famous library to found a trilingual college at the University of Vienna (1541), which was intended to support instruction in Hebrew and Greek.⁸⁹ After 1530, a further nineteen Catholic universities offered Hebrew on a regular basis, and sixteen of the new institutions were founded by the Jesuits or were substantially influenced by Jesuit colleges founded alongside of them (underlined in Table 1.3).⁹⁰ Apart from their own foundations, the Jesuit order also took over partial control of several older universities in the Holy Roman Empire, including Ingolstadt (1551), Mainz (1562), Freiburg/Breisgau (1620), Vienna (1632), and Prague (1654).⁹¹

Hebrew education was an important element of Jesuit theological education from the beginning of the order. Jerome Nadal, who directed one of the earliest Jesuit colleges in Messina, made Hebrew a part of the

⁸⁸ Pisa and Bologna were rather exceptional Italian universities since they together with the Sapienzia in Rome were the only ones to offer Hebrew instruction for any length of time. Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 15, 231. See also *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, 2 vols. (Pisa: Pacino Editore, 1993), 1: 543–544.

⁸⁹ Leo Helbling, *Dr. Johann Fabri Generalvikar von Konstanz und Bischof von Wien 1478–1541*, *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte* 67/68 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941), 135. The college lasted only a brief time and the building was given to the Franciscans in 1545.

⁹⁰ Karl Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten: zur Geschichte der Universitäten in der Oberdeutschen und Rheinischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu im Zeitalter der konfessionellen Auseinandersetzung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981).

⁹¹ Hengst discussed the political complications of Jesuits taking over older universities in *Jesuiten*, 95–99 (Ingolstadt), 121–27 (Mainz), and 143–148 (Freiburg/Br).

curriculum, including it in the *Ratio Studiorum Collegii Messanensis* (1551).⁹² In the definitive 1599 version of the order's *Ratio Studiorum*, Hebrew had a prominent place in the curriculum. The professor of Hebrew was to introduce students to the grammar and vocabulary of Hebrew, but he was to focus on explaining "the force of the words and the special idioms distinctive of the language, and the grammatical rules according to the actual usage of the authors." He was to make a strenuous effort to overcome the "strangeness and harshness" of Hebrew through energetic teaching. But above all, he was to teach Hebrew as an aid to theology and he was to emphasize its utility for understanding the Bible, all the while defending the Vulgate as "the translation approved by the Church." Ideally the instructor should be fluent not only in Hebrew and Greek, but also in Aramaic and Syriac "since many phrases from these languages are scattered throughout the canonical books."

The college rector was to organize study groups for the Jesuits under his authority in Greek and Hebrew in which "two or three times per week, at some set time the participants should practice in such a way that they might go on from there to safeguard the knowledge and the standing of these languages, both publicly and privately." The Professor of Sacred Scripture (assuming that he did not teach Hebrew as well, see below) was also to be an expert in the biblical languages "for this is absolutely indispensable." In his lectures, he was to use the Hebrew or Greek original text where necessary, but he was warned not to put too much trust in the Hebrew vowel points, since they were a "rabbinic invention." He should "carefully consider how our interpreter or the Septuagintal or other ancient interpreters read when there was no pointing." Nor was he to devote much time to the use of Jewish Bible commentators. They could be quoted if their opinions supported Catholic doctrine, but the teacher should avoid quoting them when they are in error, even to refute them, avoiding the example of "certain Christian interpreters who have followed the rabbis far more than they should have."⁹³ Christian Hebraists

⁹² William V. Bangert, *Jerome Nadal, S.J. 1507–1580. Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992), 68–69. Rainer A. Müller, "The Colleges of the 'Societatis Jesu' in the German Empire," in: *I Collegi Universitari in Europa Tra Il XIV e Il XVIII secolo*, ed. Domenico Maffei and Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Milano: Giuffrè Editore, 1991), 173–184. See also John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 204–205.

⁹³ *The Ratio Studiorum: The Official Plan for Jesuit Education*, trans. and ed. Claude Paur (Saint Louis: Institute for Jesuit Sources, 1995), 9–10, para. 11, 13; 32, para. 81; 61, paras. 169–173, 58, paras. 157–159.

generally in this era drew a strong distinction between the Hebrew language and its Jewish custodians, the former being a rightful possession of the church, the latter sometimes showing wisdom in understanding it, but all too often displaying “blindness” and “foolishness” in their interpretations. The slighting reference to “certain Christian interpreters” suggests that even among Catholic Hebraists there was a good deal of disagreement over where to draw the line between “useful” Jewish interpretation, and the arguments over it would persist throughout the Reformation era.⁹⁴

Like the Professor of Hebrew, the Professor of Holy Scripture was to uphold Catholic doctrines positively, using the Scriptures to substantiate them, and also polemically by discussing briefly the errors of heretics.⁹⁵ The Jesuit order sought to give its students the ability to interpret the Hebrew Bible and to prepare them to dispute with Protestants. Claude Le Jay underscored the need for Jesuits to be competent in biblical languages in a letter written from Vienna to Ignatius Loyola in 1550: “I humbly ask that you send men who are well-versed in the languages, since this is of great importance in Germany, because here a professor’s learning is not well regarded unless he is a good Latinist and also understands Greek and Hebrew moderately well.”⁹⁶

While the leadership of the Jesuit order was committed to Hebrew learning in principle, it was not always in a position to supply qualified teachers in the subject. The *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599 acknowledged the difficulty by allowing that the professor of Sacred Scripture should teach Hebrew “if convenient.”⁹⁷ This was the normal practice in France, where most Jesuit colleges in the seventeenth century had one professor of Holy Scripture who was also to teach Hebrew, “instead of the mandated two professors of Scripture and one professor of Hebrew.”⁹⁸ The triennial

⁹⁴ Protestants also disagreed on this issue. See Stephen G. Burnett, “Reassessing the Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship,” in: *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulsen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 181–201, here, 188–195.

⁹⁵ *Ratio Studiorum*, 57–59, especially paras.152, 154–156, 164.

⁹⁶ Claude Le Jay to Ignatius Loyola, Vienna, 12 September 1550, quoted in Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg/Br.: Herder, 1907), 45. On Le Jay, see BBKL, s. v. “JAJUS, Claudius (Le Jay)” (by Thomas Uecker), http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Jajus_c.shtml/ (accessed 10 August 2011).

⁹⁷ *Ratio Studiorum*, 9, para. 13.

⁹⁸ L. W. B. Brockliss, *French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 231.

reports that Jesuit universities sent to Rome frequently identified particular scholars as professors of Hebrew, though they often taught other subjects as well.⁹⁹ At Ingolstadt, for example, nine of the thirteen men who taught Hebrew also had some other responsibility. Cornelius Adreansens (1592), Johann Appenzeller (1597), Christoph Scheiner (1610–1616), and Marquard Ehingen (1650) taught mathematics as well as Hebrew. Balthasar Hagel (1577–1588) and Michael Leder taught philosophy (1589), while Georg Schröttel (1588) taught dialectic. Georg Mayr (1593–1596) and Georg Holzhai (1608–1646) served as the prefect of studies, combining administration and teaching.¹⁰⁰

Even if particular professors were given the responsibility of teaching Hebrew, they often did so as a sideline. They seldom taught the language for very long, since the Jesuit order itself was continually founding new colleges and missions and needed experienced brothers to direct the new initiatives. Of the 161 Jesuits listed in these reports who taught Hebrew before 1660, ninety taught for one or two years (55.9%), thirty-seven taught three to five years (22.9%), eighteen taught for six to ten years (11.2%), while only sixteen taught for more than ten years (10%). Of the sixteen who taught for ten years or more, four of them taught at the Collegio Romano in Rome, the most important of the order's universities.¹⁰¹ Another six of them taught at other important Jesuit centers, the Clementinum in Prague, the University of Ingolstadt, or the University of Vienna. A further three of these professors taught in Würzburg, Paderborn, Münster and Mainz, the final three at Pont à Mousson, Louvain, and Naples. The relatively small number of long-term appointments in Hebrew meant that few Jesuit Hebraists would become authors of Hebraica books.¹⁰² Of the 133 Catholic authors who published

⁹⁹ My figures for the number of Jesuits who taught Hebrew reflect listings in these reports, although the numbers should be considered a minimum number rather than a maximum number of Jesuit Hebrew instructors. See below in the Bibliography under Rome Jesuit Historical Institute for the records consulted.

¹⁰⁰ On the careers of these scholars, see Karl von Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, München*, 2 vols. (1872; Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1968), 1: 443–444, 2: 492, 496–497, 501, and Duhr, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, 64 and vol. 2, part 1, 201, 212–213. On Holzhai, see ADB 13:30.

¹⁰¹ Ladislaus Lukacs, "A History of the Ratio Studiorum," in: *Church, Culture & Curriculum: Theology and Mathematics in the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*, ed. Ladislaus Lukacs and Giuseppe Cosentino, trans. Frederick A. Homann (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University, 1999), 17–46, here 21–22.

¹⁰² Richard J. Clifford noted that many works written by Jesuit professors of Scripture were posthumous, compiled from student notes, because the professors themselves "regarded themselves primarily as lecturers." See his "Sacred Scripture," in: *Ratio*

Hebrew-related works in the Reformation era, only eleven were members of the Jesuit order.¹⁰³

Three non-Jesuit universities played an important role in teaching Catholic experts in Hebrew: the University of Louvain, the Sapienzia University in Rome, and above all the Collège Royale in Paris.¹⁰⁴ They provided Hebrew instruction to Catholic theologians throughout the Reformation era, and a large number of these professors were themselves authors of Christian Hebraica. To cite several prominent examples from the Collège Royale, Agathius Guidacerius (1530–1540), Jean Mercier (c.1547–1570), Jean Cinqarbres (1554–1587), and Gilbert Génébrard (1566–1591) were all prominent authors and all except Guidacerius taught there throughout their careers.¹⁰⁵ The Sapienzia University and the Collège Royale also were the first institutions to provide classes in Arabic and Syriac, and they remained important centers for instruction and scholarship throughout the seventeenth century.

The growing number of Hebrew professorships beginning in the 1520's is evidence of greater availability of education in biblical Hebrew. The evidence for a corresponding growth in the study of biblical Aramaic, the Aramaic of the Targums, and post-biblical Hebrew is sparser. Matthias Goldhahn provided a sketch of biblical Aramaic in his *Compendium Hebraeae Grammatices* (Wittenberg, 1523) together with a list of Hebrew abbreviations commonly used in Jewish Bible commentaries, indicating that his students needed this kind of information.¹⁰⁶ Sebastian Münster's publication of Jewish biblical commentaries with notes and translations in 1527, 1530, and 1531 suggests that he used them in his Hebrew classes.¹⁰⁷

Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1540–1773, ed. John Atteberry and John Russell (Boston: John J. Burns Library of Boston College, 1999), 37–39.

¹⁰³ They were Nicholas Abram, Luis Ballester, Robert Bellarmine, Francisco Farfan, Giovanni Baptista Ferrari, Antonio Jordin, Athansius Kircher, Georg Mayr, Francisco Pavone, Jean Phelippeaux, and Nicholas Serarius.

¹⁰⁴ I have not included the University of Cologne, since thirty-five of the forty-four years of Hebrew instruction were provided by Johannes Isaac and Stephen Isaac, a father and son, both Jewish converts to Christianity. After Stephen Isaac converted to the Reformed faith in 1586, his position as professor of Hebrew was left unfilled. De Vocht, *History of the Foundation*, 4: 299–306.

¹⁰⁵ Sophie Kessler Mesguich, "L'enseignement de l'hébreu et de l'araméen à Paris (1530–1560) d'après les oeuvres grammaticales des lecteurs royaux," in: *Les origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)*, ed. Marc Fumaroli (Paris: Collège de France/Klincksieck, 1998), 357–374.

¹⁰⁶ VD 16 G 2550.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph Priejs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1886)* (Olten and Freiburg: Urs-Graf, 1965), nos. 29, 31, 34. For a bibliography of Christian printings and translations of Jewish commentaries and Targums of individual books before 1620, see Stephen G. Burnett,

Whether Goldhahn and Münster taught these texts as a part of their regular duties or only through private instruction is not clear. Only after 1600 were such courses offered at Protestant universities as an advertised part of the curriculum. The University of Jena listed a course in biblical Aramaic in its twice-annual published course listings as early as 1601, followed by Wittenberg in 1632.¹⁰⁸ Samuel Bohl was the first Lutheran professor to offer a course in rabbinic Hebrew in his “Collegio Rabbinico” at the University of Rostock in 1637.¹⁰⁹ By 1648, Hackspan offered private instruction in rabbinic Hebrew at Altdorf, and the next year Frischmuth did so at Jena.¹¹⁰ According to Carsten Wilke, such *Collegia rabbinica* remained a feature of German Lutheran university curricula through the 1740’s.¹¹¹

In the wake of the expansion of Hebrew instruction throughout Europe, other Semitic languages also enjoyed a more modest increase in status and importance. In contrast to Hebrew, the realities of church diplomacy first motivated Catholic scholars to learn these languages. The Catholic Church had direct ties with the Maronite church in Lebanon after its reaffirmation of union with Rome at the Council of Florence in 1439. Since both Syriac and Arabic were languages that were used by the Maronites and by the Orthodox churches in the Near East, it was important that some Catholic scholars learn them for both diplomatic and missionary reasons. Maronite churchmen visited Rome with some regularity throughout the sixteenth century for a number of reasons, and their willingness to teach non-Maronites their language allowed a small handful of western scholars to learn Syriac as a living language. Teseo Ambrosio was perhaps

“The Strange Career of the Biblia Rabbinica among Christian Hebraists, 1517–1620,” in: *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Matthew McLean and Bruce Gordon (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

¹⁰⁸ “Malachiae Prophetiae explicatione progredietur: Nec non Grammatica praecepta” *Rector Academiae Ienensis, M. Petrus Piscator, Hebraearum Literarum Professor Publicus. L. S. : Antisthenem, Philosophum, Tanta Discendi Cypiditate flagrasse ... P. P. Ienae n. Calendas Apriles, anni ... 1601* (Jena, 1601), Jena UB Sig. 2 Hist.lit.VI,9(28). *Prorector et Consilium Academiae Wittebergensis Publ. Civibus Academicis* (1632), VD 17: 547: 637630N. The University of Altdorf hired Julius Conrad Otto to serve as a professor for Hebrew, Syriac, and Aramaic in 1603. Wolfgang Mährle: *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)*, Contubernium: Tübingen Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte 54 (Stuttgart, 2000), 267.

¹⁰⁹ VD17 1:058782P.

¹¹⁰ *Series Lectionum et Aliorum Academicorum Exercitiorum Tam Publicorum, Quam Privatorum* (Altdorf, [1648]), Erlangen UB Sig. 4 Ltg II, 100d, and *Rector Academiae Jenensis Gothofredus Cundisius ... Magnam temporis* (Jena, 1649), VD 17: 23:275478K.

¹¹¹ See Günster Stemberger, “Die Mischna-Übersetzung von Johann Jacob Rabe,” in: *Reuchlin und seine Erben*, ed. Peter Schaefer and I. Wandrey, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 11 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2005), 111–125, here 122 and n. 14.

the first European scholar to learn Syriac from Maronite instructors who attended the Fifth Lateran Council in 1513–1515. Andreas Masius and Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter also sought instruction in Syriac from Maronite teachers in Rome. Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo learned Arabic from Leo Africanus, a Muslim scholar who had been enslaved by Sicilian corsairs and was given by Pope Leo X to Viterbo for the purpose.¹¹²

These informal contacts between near eastern scholars in Rome and potential students were strengthened through the founding of a Maronite college in 1590. Pope Gregory XIV created it as a form of support for Maronite students who had come from Lebanon to study there.¹¹³ From the ranks of these Maronite students, the Sapienza University was able to recruit native speakers of Arabic to teach both Arabic and Syriac, beginning with Victor Schialach who taught there from 1610 to 1644.¹¹⁴ Monks from the Ethiopian monastery of San Stefano dei Mori also provided expertise in both Arabic and in Ge'ez, (Ethiopic).¹¹⁵

Following Rome's example, other centers of Arabic and oriental language study also emerged in the early seventeenth century. From the time of King Francis I, the University of Paris had offered Arabic instruction occasionally, beginning with Augustinus Justinianus, who worked there from 1517–1522. Guillaume Postel taught Arabic there from 1538–1542, his most famous student being Joseph Scaliger. Arnoul de l'Isle was apparently the first official professor of Arabic, teaching from 1587–1613.¹¹⁶ Etienne Hubert, personal physician to King Henry IV, also taught Arabic during these years at the Collège Royale, and his most famous pupil was Thomas Erpenius.¹¹⁷ At about this time Savary de Brèves, a former French ambassador to the Ottoman court, began to dream of founding a polyglot institute in Paris for “the education of youths in oriental languages

¹¹² Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, 13, 48, 84, 140–141.

¹¹³ Maronite students started coming to Rome to study as early as 1579. Pierre Raphael, *Le Rôle du Collège Maronite Romain dans l'Orientalisme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Beirut: Université Saint Joseph de Beyrouth, 1950), 58.

¹¹⁴ The University of Pisa featured professors of *Lingui orientali* from 1620–1638 and 1644–1648, in part by hiring on a regular basis by hiring Abraham Ecchellensis (1633/34–1636/37) and Isaac Sciandrensis (1636–1638), from the Maronite college in Rome. See *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, vol. 1, part 2 (Pisa: Pacino Editore, 1993), 542–544, and Angelo Fabroni, *Historia Academiae Pisanae*, 3 vols. (1791–1795; Bologna: Forni, 1971), 3:680.

¹¹⁵ Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, 67–68.

¹¹⁶ Lefranc, *Histoire*, 362.

¹¹⁷ Alastair Hamilton, “Arabic Studies in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in: *Philologia Arabica: Arabische studiën en drukken in de Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1986), XCIV–XCII, here XCIX.

with an attached printing office." By this means, argued de Brèves, France would have communication with all the sciences of the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, the three "nations" that made up the Ottoman Empire. The institute would also provide translators who would be useful not only for Bible translation work but for French political and commercial tasks.¹¹⁸ The grandiose institute plan came to naught with the death of de Thou (1617) and du Perron (1618) and the disgrace of de Brèves, but Paris did ultimately gain an oriental press whose most important work would be the Paris Polyglot, which contained Syriac and Arabic versions of the Bible.¹¹⁹

The Protestant world lagged somewhat behind in introducing Arabic instruction at the university level. Although he never held a professorship of Arabic, William Bedwell taught a number of budding Arabists, including Thomas Erpenius, Samuel Bochart, and Edward Pococke, at Tottingham High Cross in Middlesex where he served as a minister from 1607–1632.¹²⁰ Jacob Christmann became the first Professor of Arabic at a Protestant university, teaching at the University of Heidelberg from 1608–1613. His ambitions unfortunately far outstripped his actual abilities, which were based upon his knowledge of Hebrew, his use of Postel's manuscript Arabic grammar, and a handful of Arabic manuscripts purchased from Postel for the Heidelberg library.¹²¹ Although he never taught Arabic, Joseph Scaliger was the true founder of Arabic studies among Protestants. He encouraged his student Thomas Erpenius to study Arabic in Paris, and it was Erpenius who became the first Professor of Arabic at Leiden, serving there from 1613–1624.¹²² Both Scaliger and Erpenius benefited from Franz Raphelengius' branch of the Plantin press, which his father-in-law Christopher Plantin established in Leiden during 1583. Raphelengius was himself a gifted scholar of both Syriac and Arabic and would print books in both languages.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Peter N. Miller, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century," in: *Die europäische Gelehrten Republik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, ed. Herbert Jaumann, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 96 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 59–85, here 67–68.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 69–71.

¹²⁰ Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell, the Arabist*, Publications of the Sir Thomas Browne Institute Leiden 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1985).

¹²¹ Robert J. Wilkinson, "Immanuel Tremellius' 1569 Edition of the Syriac New Testament," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58/1 (January 2007): 9–25, here 14–15.

¹²² Hamilton, "Arabic Studies," CII–CIII.

¹²³ *Idem*, *Arab culture and Ottoman magnificence in Antwerp's Golden Age* (London: Arcadian Press and Oxford University Press, 2001), 76, 79.

In 1624, Daniel Schwenter, professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Altdorf, became the first professor to offer formal Arabic instruction at a Lutheran university. Martin Trost would introduce Arabic instruction in Wittenberg a few years later, in 1632.¹²⁴ The first professor of Arabic at an English university was Abraham Wheelocke, who taught the language at Cambridge from 1632 until his death in 1653.¹²⁵ Edward Pococke was appointed to the first chair of Arabic at Oxford in 1636, but spent the next five years in the Levant, and only took up his duties in 1642.¹²⁶

The relationship between Hebrew learning in the Reformation era and the growing study of other oriental languages was a natural one, given that many of the same people were involved in both. Robert J. Wilkinson noted that Benito Arias Montano, Guillaume Postel, and the Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie were all involved in editing the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1569–72) were also interested in Kabbalah.¹²⁷ On the Protestant side of the confessional divide, Joseph Scaliger was a critical figure for both Hebrew and other Semitic language learning, thanks to his prominence and his willingness to encourage gifted younger scholars such as Thomas Erpenius and Johannes Buxtorf to pursue their interests.¹²⁸ In the generation after Buxtorf's death in 1629, Hebraists increasingly regarded the study of other Semitic languages as a part of their task. The lavish, ambitious Paris and London Polyglots reflected the new importance of cognate Semitic languages for Christian Hebraism.¹²⁹ It is no exaggeration to say that Christian Hebraism cannot be understood fully without referring to both Hebrew learning and the study of other related Semitic languages in the Reformation era.

¹²⁴ Stephen G. Burnett, "Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the Time of Solomon Glassius (1593–1656)," in: *Hermeneutik der Schrift für Theologen der Kirche: Die Philologia Sacra des Salomon Glassius (1593–1656)*, ed. Christoph Bultmann and Lutz Danneberg, *Historia Hermeneutica: Series Studia* 10 (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

¹²⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Wheelocke, Abraham" (by Alastair Hamilton), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 10 August 2011).

¹²⁶ Idem, "Pococke, Edward" (by G. J. Toomer), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 10 August 2011).

¹²⁷ Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot*, *Studies in the History of Christian Traditions* 138 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007), 77–89.

¹²⁸ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 27–28.

¹²⁹ Peter N. Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62/3 (2001): 463–482.

A Christian Hebrew Reading Public

How substantial was the market for Hebrew books among Christians? This problem is critically important for any study of Christian Hebraism, because most customers who purchased Hebraica books were at best familiar with Hebrew rather than fluent in its use, let alone publishing scholars. Scholars considering this question must contend with a series of problems before proposing an answer. To begin with, many schools and universities offered Hebrew instruction, but they did not necessarily do so every year, even if they boasted of a Hebrew instructor on their faculty. Hebraists often had other responsibilities that might be more pressing than Hebrew, and of course they could not always offer the class because of poor health or other reasons. Any conclusive study on the number of Hebrew students would involve the study of individual institutions and their surviving enrollment records, an investigation that goes far beyond the scope of this book. However, it is possible to offer several kinds of evidence that indicate a substantial, growing number of Christian Hebrew readers over the course of the Reformation era.

The availability of Hebrew instruction in Protestant and Catholic universities offers a starting point for speculation on the number of students trained by professors of Hebrew. Together Tables 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 report the number of years that Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic universities offered Hebrew. When the numbers of years that Hebrew was offered in universities are tallied they total 1,524 university-years of Hebrew taught in Lutheran institutions, 1,323 in Reformed, and 1,580 in Catholic ones. Assuming that first year Hebrew was taught on average three out of every four years, the number of years of Hebrew instruction offered altogether would be 1,143 instruction-years in Lutheran, 992.25 Reformed, and 1,185 Catholic institutions. If one assumes that only a small number of students learned Hebrew a year in these universities, we could multiply by these ratios and estimate the number of students enrolled.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ On the discouragingly small numbers of Hebrew students at Tübingen and Basel, see Stephen G. Burnett, "Christian Hebraism at the University of Tübingen from Reuchlin to Schickard," in: *Tübingen: Eine Universität zwischen Scholastik und Humanismus*, ed. Sönke Lorenz (Ostfilden: Thorbecke, forthcoming). Josephus Barnatus only ordered seven Hebrew Bibles to meet the needs of his students at Louvain during 1614–15. Alastair Hamilton, "An Egyptian Traveller in the Republic of Letters: Joseph Barbatus or Abudacus the Copt," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 123–150, here 134. Not all Hebraists complained about small numbers of students. Amama reported in 1625 that while his classes had scarcely had 20 students before several provincial church

These annual averages for the number of Christian students learning Hebrew necessarily include those who for various reasons never mastered the language, as well as those few who did. They do not account for all Christian students learning Hebrew in any given year, since some could learn Hebrew in Latin schools, in monasteries, by studying with lecturers in individual colleges (such as St. John's College, Cambridge) or by paying private tutors to teach them. Nonetheless, they suggest a growing number of Christian scholars who knew at least a smattering of Hebrew, and they indicate a potential market for Hebrew books.

Another approach to estimating how large the pool of Christian Hebrew students was during these years involves analyzing the number of Hebrew grammars printed for their use. Hebrew grammars of various sizes were one of the most frequently printed Christian Hebraica books. The Hebrew printers who produced these texts were confident that there were enough Christian students willing to purchase them. This was a reasonable assumption since basic linguistic tools comprised around half of all Christian Hebraica printed between 1501 and 1660.¹³¹

Except for the pioneering decade (1501–10), the number of beginning Hebrew grammars in eleven of the fifteen decades following was more than 30 imprints, averaging 34.3 imprints per decade or 3.43 per year. If we assume that a thousand exemplars of each grammar were produced, that would be about 3,430 Hebrew grammars printed each year.¹³² This figure suggests a much larger number of students and other consumers of Hebrew than the estimates of university Hebrew students provided in Table 1.4. Although there is a considerable distance between the possible 145 beginning Hebrew students learning at European universities each year and the estimate of 1,700–3,400 Hebrew grammars produced per year after 1520, these two approaches to estimating student demand for Hebrew learning helps to explain the buoyancy of the market for Christian Hebrew books that we will see in chapter 5.

Yet these averages tell only part of the story of consumer demand for Hebrew grammars. The grammar books of some authors were regularly reprinted, presumably to meet steady consumer demand. Sebastian Münster wrote an array of Hebrew grammars that were printed in Basel

authorities began requiring competence in Hebrew, he now had nearly 40 Hebrew students. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies*, 65.

¹³¹ See below, chap. 3.

¹³² The estimate of a thousand imprints per run is low figure. Grendler estimated press runs of 1,000 were the norm for ordinary books in sixteenth-century Venice; 2,000–3,000 copies of a book might be printed if particularly heavy demand were anticipated. Paul

Table 1.4. Estimates of Hebrew students taught at universities, 1501–1660

If X Students taught/year	Lutheran	Reformed	Catholic	Total taught, 1501–1660	Average number taught per year
3	3,429	2976.75	3,555	9,960.75	62.75
4	4,572	3969	4740	13,281	83
5	5715	4961.25	5925	16,601.25	103.75
6	6858	5953.5	7110	19,921.5	124.5
7	8001	6945.75	8295	23,241.75	145.26

Table 1.5. Production of beginning Hebrew grammar books, 1501–1660 by decades

Decade	Number of Grammars Produced
1501–1510	8
1511–1520	39
1521–1530	31
1531–1540	45
1541–1550	43
1551–1560	36
1561–1570	33
1571–1580	21
1581–1590	39
1591–1600	32
1601–1610	27
1611–1620	36
1621–1630	43
1631–1640	28
1641–1650	33
1651–1660	29
TOTAL	523

Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 9. Plantin's print runs were usually 1,250, and printers in Geneva usually produced 1,350 copies of their books. See Leon Voet, *The golden compasses. A history and evaluation of the printing and publishing activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, Van Gendt; New York, Abner Schram [1969–1972], 2: 169, and Jean-François Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book*, trans. Karin Maag (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2005), 216.

twelve times between 1520 and 1556, roughly one grammar every three years. Johannes Buxtorf's various grammars were reprinted fourteen times in Basel between 1605–1658, roughly one book every four years. Robert Bellarmine's *Institutiones linguae Hebraicae* was printed eighteen times between 1578–1624, about once every six years.¹³³ Although Christian Hebrew books were quintessential export items rather than works that were consumed only in one town, the frequency with which they were reprinted suggests predictable customer demand and therefore a willingness on the part of printers to reprint them. In the present state of knowledge we cannot yet estimate the number of Christian Hebrew readers who had received a minimal education in Hebrew during the Reformation era, but these estimates of Hebrew students taught at universities and of the number of Hebrew grammars produced for them and for students in Latin schools and in monasteries suggest a substantial number of potential consumers of Hebrew books.

By 1660, Hebrew had assumed a much more important place within the Christian world of learning than it had ever enjoyed before. The biblical humanism espoused by Erasmus and others provided a compelling reason for learning Hebrew in order to read the Old Testament, but it was the Protestant doctrine of *sola scriptura* that made Hebrew so critically important within the new theological discourse brought about by the Reformation. Pre-Reformation biblical humanists and Protestant theologians both agreed that a return to the sources, in this case the Hebrew Bible, was critically important for reforming that church and that an understanding of the words and phrases of the original Hebrew text was essential for interpreting the Old Testament accurately. Protestant theologians went a step further, however, when they made the Bible as a whole, including the Hebrew Old Testament, the sole standard of Christian doctrine and practice. Protestant universities had to offer Hebrew to make the original text of the Old Testament accessible to their theologians, and nearly all of them founded professorships of Hebrew. Biblical humanists who remained loyal to Catholicism continued to study the Old Testament text in Hebrew for similar reasons, though the climate for such study was not equally auspicious. In the Spanish-ruled Netherlands and in Spain itself biblical humanists came under increasing suspicion by

¹³³ See Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke*, 545–549, 551–554 for the figures on Münster and Buxtorf. Bellarmine's *Institutiones linguae Hebraicae* was printed in 1578, 1580 (twice), 1585, 1596 (twice), 1606 (twice), 1609, 1615, 1616 (twice), 1617, 1618, 1619, 1622 (twice), and 1624.

mid-century.¹³⁴ Yet the need to counter the theological arguments of Protestants encouraged the growth of Hebrew learning in Catholic Europe as well. The study of other Semitic languages such as Arabic grew more slowly, spurred by an interest in using them to shed further light on Hebrew, diplomacy with near eastern rulers and churches, and in the case of Arabic, commercial uses as well.¹³⁵

Widespread access to Hebrew instruction did not mean widespread expertise any more than it does in our day. How many students, Catholic or Protestant, availed themselves of the opportunity to learn Hebrew can only be estimated, or they could be studied in connection with particular teachers or schools. Most of the newly trained Hebrew students, whether Protestant or Catholic, probably did little more than occasionally consult Hebrew Bibles. Many of them probably forgot all they learned within a short time. Nonetheless, the sheer number of Christian Hebrew imprints suggests that enough students were involved in the study of Hebrew to support a vibrant market in such books.

The new rationale for Hebrew learning and the new opportunities for studying the language set the stage for a qualitatively different encounter with Jewish texts, Judaism and living Jews. During the sixteenth century and for the first time in the history of the church a large community of Christian readers came into being who needed Hebrew books of many kinds in order to pursue their interests and tasks. A new class of Christian Hebrew authors, most of them Christians from birth, but some Jewish converts, worked mightily to create the texts needed for these readers to do so. By authoring such books Christian Hebrew authors helped to create the basis for a public conversation concerning Hebrew and Jewish scholarship, as we will see in the next chapter.

¹³⁴ See Bentley, "New Testament Scholarship," 79, and Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, *Gaspar de Grajal (1530–1575): Frühneuzeitliche Bibelwissenschaft im Streit mit Universität und Inquisition*, *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte* 140 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998), 480–510.

¹³⁵ Hamilton, "Arabic Studies in the Netherlands," XCVIII, C.

CHAPTER TWO

HEBRAIST AUTHORS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS: CENTERS, PERIPHERIES AND THE GROWTH OF AN ACADEMIC HEBREW CULTURE

Christian Hebraist writers were central actors in the humanist and theological project of mining Jewish scholarship for information and insight during the Reformation era. If less gifted Christian readers had the opportunity to study Jewish texts and ideas, it was usually through the mediation of this relatively small group of Christians from birth and Jewish converts who wrote books on Hebrew-related topics. The Reformation shaped the experience and outlook of these authors through their education, career choices and patrons, especially after 1560.

To modify Foucault's famous question, what was a Christian Hebraist author?¹ For the purposes of this study, a Hebraist author was one who prepared a text that contained enough Hebrew words, phrases or entire passages that a reader would need some familiarity with Hebrew to understand it fully. While the author's text was not absolutely identical with the book produced by the printer under that author's name, which contained additional paratextual elements such as marginal notes or an index, the appearance of an author's name on a printed book was an important statement of responsibility for the authorities, who oversaw the book market.²

Christian Hebraist authors studied the Hebrew language and produced Hebrew texts, a scholarly terrain that hitherto was populated almost exclusively by Jews. Their interest in Hebrew raised questions about their loyalties among religious authorities, since "judaizing" was the most ancient of all Christian heresies, and it continued to worry ecclesiastical

¹ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in: idem, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113–138.

² Ibid., 124–127. Roger Chartier's treatment of this question proceeds from three social mechanisms "judicial, repressive, and material—fundamental for the invention of the 'author'" Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 59.

leaders of all stripes throughout the Reformation era.³ In addition to worries about whether Hebraists were “too sympathetic” to the Jews generally or to particular Jewish authors, officials were also concerned about the confessional loyalty of these authors. In most instances their worries that Christian Hebraists might become heterodox members of their own churches, heretics, or even judaizers were completely unwarranted. There were a few determined individualists such as Michael Servetus or Guillaume Postel, who followed their understanding of Hebrew texts to whatever conclusion they felt warranted, but most Christian Hebraists publicly identified with the official confession of their country, whatever concerns of conscience they may have experienced in private.

Christian Hebraist authors were a tiny minority of those Christians who were capable of reading Hebrew in this time. Of the 672 professors of Hebrew who taught between 1501 and 1660, only 138 of them (20.5%) wrote so much as a single Hebraica book, let alone made a significant contribution to scholarship. The growing number of professorships of Hebrew at universities throughout Europe made a basic education in Hebrew more accessible to a growing number of students, but these students, like most of their instructors, were likely able to read only simple biblical texts, if they achieved that much. Hebraist authors, by contrast, could claim a measure of public recognition for their work, and they could communicate with a wider audience through their books. While religious differences did not absolutely eliminate contacts between Christian Hebraists of different confessions, they tended to encourage competition and polemics rather than dialogue and cooperation.

Before the Council of Trent Christian Hebraists were largely unaffected by the theological convulsions of their time. However, in its wake Hebraists were forced to become adherents of one or another confessional church, and Hebraist scholarship was divided accordingly into Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed and Anglican branches. Hebraist authors from each confession were trained in different settings, often followed different career paths, lived in different centers of scholarship, and sought support for their books from different sorts of patrons. They were also shaped by the distinctive characteristics of their respective confessions, and were for the most part answerable to their own religious and professional hierarchies.

³ Róbert Dán, “‘Judaizare’—The Career of a Term,” in: *Antitrinitarianism in the Second Half of the 16th Century*, ed. Róbert Dán and Antal Pimát (Budapest and Leiden: Akadémiai Kiadó and E. J. Brill, 1982), 25–34.

Preconfessional Hebraism

The process of forming new confessional churches among both Protestants and Catholics first in Germany and then elsewhere in Europe was slow and politically complicated. Before 1530, individual Protestants such as Luther were declared heretics and excommunicated by the Catholic Church. Even before Protestant leaders presented the Augsburg Confession at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 as their first widely accepted doctrinal statement, it was clear to the Catholic hierarchy and to Catholic princes that not only individual heretics but also the churches of entire regions of Germany were in revolt against Rome. Subsequent statements of faith, including the Wittenberg Concord (1536), the Smalkald Articles (1537), and the Formula of Concord (1577), served to unite the empire's Lutherans doctrinally and politically. In response to both the challenge of Lutheranism and the emperor's victory in the first Smalkaldic War, Swiss Reformed theologians drafted the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549) to serve as a common confession for the Swiss Reformed Churches, supported by the magistrates of the Protestant-ruled cantons.⁴ The emerging Protestant confessional churches, Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican, gradually developed their own church ordinances, patterns of church order and requirements for theological education.⁵ The Catholic response to these challenges was debated and then decreed by the reforming Council of Trent (1545–1563). During these years of fluid confessional developments, biblical humanism continued to inspire Christian Hebraists, whether loyal to the Catholic Church or to Protestantism, to pursue Hebrew learning. Despite the growing rancor between Protestants and Catholics and among the Protestants themselves, scholarly exchange among Christian Hebraists continued in a variety of ways, including university attendance, reading and responding to each other's works, and occasionally even cooperation on common projects.

The most striking feature of the pre-confessional period of Hebrew scholarship is its intimate character. There were so few Christian Hebraists before 1560 and so few opportunities to learn the language that many of

⁴ Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalization in the Empire: Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620," in his *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society. Essays in German and Dutch History*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Thought 50 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 205–245, here 216–219, 222–226.

⁵ On the importance of theological education for confessional formation, see Amy Nelson Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation. Ministers and their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 127–154.

them knew each other personally or by reputation. Erasmus corresponded with, knew or had heard of a third of the seventy-three Hebraists authors whose careers ended before 1560. Embarrassingly for the Catholic loyalist, three of them, his former colleagues Wolfgang Capito, Conrad Pellican, and Johannes Oecolampadius, became outspoken Protestant leaders. The limited number of Hebrew teachers, whether Christians from birth or Jewish converts, also meant that many of these Hebraists shared the same teacher. One of the ties that bound the Hebraists of Basel, Strasbourg and Zurich was that Matthäus Adrianus tutored Capito, Pellican, and Sebastian Münster while he lived in Bruchsal.⁶ Adrianus also taught a number of students while working in Louvain, including Robert Wakefield, August Nouzen, Nicholas Clenardus and Jan van den Campen. Wittenberg Hebraists Johannes Boeschenstein, Philip Melancthon and Johannes Forster were all Hebrew students of Reuchlin, as was Oecolampadius in Basel. While Elias Levita taught most of his Christian students in Italy and most of them remained loyal to the Roman Church, he and his two grandsons spent the year 1541 working with Paul Fagius in Isny, where Fagius presumably benefited by his assistance.⁷ Münster translated most of Levita's books into Latin and so can be considered a "student" of Levita, although the two of them probably never met in person.

Given the difficulty of finding Hebrew instruction before 1520, it is not surprising that no single university was the center for Hebrew education for the two generations of Hebraist writers who died before 1560. Four of them learned Hebrew at the University of Louvain—Robert Wakefield, August Nouzen, Nicholas Clenardus and Jan van den Campen—but of the twenty-seven other Hebraists who were active during this period and whose education can be traced, no more than two of them attended the same university. Other Hebraists found Hebrew instruction within their monastic orders. When Conrad Pellican sought help in learning Hebrew, his fellow Franciscan Paul of Pfedersheim gave him a Hebrew manuscript of the prophets.⁸ Pellican in turn would give Sebastian Münster, another

⁶ Stephen G. Burnett, "Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship,'" in: *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulsen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 181–201, here 182–184.

⁷ Idem, "German Jewish Printing in the Reformation Era (1530–1633), in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth Century Germany*, ed. Dean P. Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 503–527, here 506–507.

⁸ Konrad Pellikan, *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan*, ed. Bernhard Riggenbach (Basel: Bahnmaier's Verlag [C. Detloff], 1877), 14–17.

Franciscan, his first Hebrew lessons years before either of them had even heard of Martin Luther.⁹ Dominicans Augustinus Justinianus and Sanctes Pagninus probably learned Hebrew within their order, the latter from fellow Dominican Abraham Clemente, a Jewish convert who once worked for Pico.¹⁰

Another indication of the intimate character of pre-confessional Hebraism was the limited number of places where Hebraist scholars lived and worked. The first centers of biblical humanism were in Rome and in the newly founded University of Alcalá in Spain. Recognition in Rome for Hebraist authors could provide them with religious and scholarly legitimacy as well as offer the possibility of financial reward. In the person of Pope Leo X Christian Hebraists found a ruler who was sympathetic to biblical humanism, the study of Hebrew and other Semitic languages, and even Kabbalah. Reuchlin dedicated *De arte cabalistica* (1517) to Pope Leo X (1513–21), who privately acknowledged his pleasure at Reuchlin's dedication and scholarship through a letter written by his librarian Filippo Beroald the Younger. Beroald wrote, "The Pope read your books on the Kabbalah avidly, as is his wont when reading good things...."¹¹ Apart from Pope Leo's private support for Reuchlin's scholarship (at least before his condemnation of the latter in 1520), he proved to be a strong public supporter of Hebrew scholarship generally. He received dedications for the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, the 1517 printing of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible in Venice, Agostino Giustiniani's Polyglot Psalter (1516), and Potken's Tetraplar Psalter (1518). In 1521 Pope Leo agreed to finance the printing of Sanctes Pagninus' polyglot Bible, but had to cut off funding in August 1521, since he needed the money for war preparations.¹² He even issued printer Daniel Bomberg a privilege authorizing him to print the Babylonian Talmud in 1520, a policy that his later successor Pope Julius III would

⁹ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Munster. Versuche eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 91 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963), 20–21.

¹⁰ On Justinianus, see R. Gerald Hobbs, "Agostino Giustiniani," CE 2: 102–103; on Pagninus, see Santiago Garcia-Jalon de la Lama, *La gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI. Guía de lectura de las obras impresas* (Salamanca: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, 1998), 29–30. See also Paul F. Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535," in: *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 227–276, here 233–247.

¹¹ Quoted by David H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 185. See Filippo Beroald to Johann Reuchlin, Rome, 25 May 1517, in: RBW 3: 449–450, here 450, l. 12–13, and RBW *Leserausgabe*, 3: 223–224, here 224.

¹² Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy," 243–244.

emphatically revoke when he ordered the destruction of the Talmud in 1553.¹³

While Pope Adrian VI (1522–23) was not particularly interested in supporting learning of any kind, and lacked the means to do so since he had inherited Pope Leo X's debts, his successor Pope Clement VII (1523–34) also supported biblical humanism. The combination of both sympathetic popes and supportive cardinals such as Sadoletto and Cajetan, as well as Egidio di Viterbo, created a favorable climate for biblical humanism in Rome at least during the early years of the Reformation.¹⁴

Rome's ecclesiastical contacts with the churches of the Middle East and Africa meant that delegations of churchmen visited Rome on occasion, some of them staying there for extended periods. Some of these native speakers of Semitic languages served as tutors for Johannes Potken to learn Ethiopic and for Teseo Ambrosio, Andreas Masius, and Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter to learn Syriac.¹⁵ Monasteries in Rome provided support for both Franciscan Petrus Galatinus and Dominican Sanctes Pagninus, who enjoyed the patronage of Leo X as well. Tommaso Strozzi, the prior of Pagninus's monastery, funded the printing of his pioneering work *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch* (1523).¹⁶ Agathius Guidacerius was the first professor of Hebrew at the Sapienza University in Rome, serving from 1524 until 1527.¹⁷ Agostino Steucho, who made his reputation as a writer in Venice, would later enjoy papal support in Rome as director of the Vatican Library.¹⁸ In addition to the papal court and

¹³ The privilege itself has not survived, but it was extensively quoted in a later papal document. See Shlomo Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, vol. 4: *Documents: 1522–1548* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990), document no. 1559.

¹⁴ Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 270–271.

¹⁵ Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 14–16, 51–52. Elias Levita also gained further insight into the relative unimportance of vowel points for Semitic languages from a conversation with several Syrian Christians in Rome. *Jacob ben Chajim Ibn Adonijah's Introduction to the Rabbinic Bible, Hebrew and English ... and the Massoreth ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita*, ed. and trans. Christian D. Ginsburg (1867; reprint: New York: KTAV, 1968), part 2, 130–131.

¹⁶ Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, 58–61 (Galatinus) and Gareth Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a Third language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 40–41 (Pagninus). See also Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 244.

¹⁷ See H. Galliner, "Agathius Guidacerius: An Early Hebrew Grammarian in Rome and Paris," *Historia Judaica* 2 (1940): 85–101, and Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 247–251.

¹⁸ Ronald K. Delph, "Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steucho's Quarrel with Erasmus," in: *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 297–318.

monasteries, the household of Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo supported Hebrew scholarship, not only the work of Egidio himself, but of Elias Levita, one of the most important Jewish Hebrew tutors and a prolific writer on Hebrew-related subjects.¹⁹ The Sack of Rome in 1527 proved to be only a temporary setback for Hebrew scholarship. Already in 1533 Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter was able to find the instructors and manuscripts he needed to improve his already impressive Hebrew skills there. Guillaume Postel and Andreas Masius would meet and study together in Rome during the 1540's, and all three scholars would combine their efforts in the next decade to produce the first printed Syriac New Testament.²⁰

The brief life of Alcalá in Spain as a center of Hebrew scholarship can be attributed solely to the vision and support of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. His willingness to found the new university of Alcalá and to organize and fund the printing of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible meant that Alcalá was for a while home to a highly capable group of biblical humanists. From 1502–1517 the team that produced the text of the Complutensian Polyglot labored together over its Hebrew, Greek and Latin texts. Pedro Coronel, Alfonso Zamora and Alonso de Alcalá were all Jewish converts, and the two former scholars would teach Hebrew at the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca after their editing work was complete. Two other Hebraist authors worked on the Polyglot, Antonio de Nebrija and Jaime López Zúñiga.²¹ After Cardinal Jiménez's day, however, Alcalá ceased to be a center of Hebrew scholarship, lacking both patronage and a critical mass of consumers of Hebraica to support them.

Hebrew humanism had a promising start in Italy and Spain before 1560, but in northern Europe the situation was even more favorable. Louvain, Paris, and the emerging Protestant university towns of Wittenberg, Strasbourg and Basel would support an increasing number of Hebraist authors whose works supplied a growing market for Christian Hebrew books. The Trilingual College of the University of Louvain, founded in 1517, could boast of a succession of Hebraist instructors who were also authors. Matthias Adrianus, Jan van den Campen, and Nicholas Clenardus all were important early writers. Dirck Martens, best known as a printer, wrote several rudimentary aids to Hebrew study as well. Several students

¹⁹ Gérard E. Weil, *Élie Lévitte Humaniste et Massorète (1469–1549)*, *Studia Post-Biblica* 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 81–110, 123.

²⁰ Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, 78, 141.

²¹ Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age*, *MRTS* 112 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 59–61.

of these Louvain Hebraists would also go on to write Hebrew books of their own, notably Robert Wakefield, August Sebastian Nouzen, and Gerhard Veltwyck, though the latter was a Jewish convert who presumably learned Hebrew as a child rather than at Louvain. Convert Johannes Isaac was a special case among Louvain Hebrew students in that he knew Hebrew already but came to Louvain to improve his Latin and to learn Christian Hebrew pedagogy.²²

Paris was perhaps the most hospitable place to work for Christian Hebraist authors of all stripes until the French Wars of Religion began in 1562. Hebraists François Tissard, Girolamo Aleander, and Augustus Justinianus taught at the University of Paris even before King Francis I endowed royal lectureships in Hebrew and Greek in 1530.²³ The king invited Italian Hebraists Paul Paradis and François Vatable to serve as professors of Hebrew there.²⁴ Remarkably, this first generation of Paris Hebraists educated an even more capable second generation who replaced them by mid-century. Jean Mercier (d. 1570), Jean Cinquarbres (d. 1587), and Gilbert Génébrard (1535–1597) all proved to be prolific authors and influential teachers. Their students Antoine Chevalier, Bonaventure Cornelius Bertramus, and Petrus Martinus of La Rochelle would go on to become well-known Protestant Hebraist authors.²⁵ Franz Raphelengius also studied Hebrew there and would play a critical role in helping his father-in-law Christopher Plantin publish the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.²⁶

Several of the new Protestant universities of early sixteenth century Germany had also established themselves as centers of Hebrew scholarship by the mid-sixteenth century. Basel, Strasbourg and Wittenberg each profited from the dramatic growth of the new faith, though in distinctly different ways. Basel had been a center of humanist scholarship before the Reformation, and indeed it was where Erasmus not only published many of his most important works, but where he lived out the final thirteen months of his life, dying in the home of his friend and printer

²² Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, 4 vols. (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1955), 4: 299–301.

²³ Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, “L’enseignement de l’hébreu et de l’araméen par les premiers lecteurs royaux (1530–1560),” in: *Histoire du Collège de France*, vol. 1: *La Création (1530–1560)*, ed. André Tuilier (Paris: Fayard, 2006), 257–282, here 258–262.

²⁴ André Tulier, “L’entrée en fonction des premiers lecteurs royaux,” in: *ibid.*, 145–163, here 153–154.

²⁵ Kessler-Mesguich, “L’enseignement de l’hébreu,” 277, 279.

²⁶ Raphelengius began to work for Plantin in 1564. Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, vol. 1: *Christophe Plantin and the Moretus: Their Lives and their World* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969), 148.

Hieronymus Froben in 1536. Erasmus' younger assistants Johannes Oecolampadius and Conrad Pellican, who helped to prepare his great edition of the works of Jerome, were among the first Protestant Hebraists to work in Basel. It was Sebastian Münster, however, who would make Basel the center of Protestant Hebrew scholarship from his appointment as Professor of Hebrew at Basel University in 1527 until his death in 1552. Münster wrote, edited or translated no fewer than seventy-eight imprints that were printed by Basel presses, the most of any Hebraica author in the Reformation era.

Strasbourg too had been a center of humanist scholarship and printing before the Reformation, but the enthusiasm of Martin Bucer and above all Wolfgang Capito for Hebrew made Strasbourg a center of Hebrew scholarship. Capito was particularly important because he diligently sought to improve his knowledge of Jewish literature over the course of his career. His student Paul Fagius was not only Capito's successor at the Strasbourg Academy (1544–1549) but shared his mentor's enthusiasm for both Jewish texts and biblical learning. Strasbourg was also home at various times to a number of other Hebraist writers including Michael Servetus, John Calvin and Immanuel Tremellius.²⁷ Strasbourg's proximity to both Basel and Zurich, and the willingness of Hebraists in all three cities to circulate drafts of their work for criticism led Roussel and Hobbs to identify Bucer, Capito, Oecolampadius, Zwingli and their lesser-known colleagues in these three cities as the "Upper Rhineland School of Biblical Exegesis."²⁸ Strasbourg's great days as a center of Hebrew scholarship effectively ended when the magistrate accepted the terms of the Augsburg Interim in 1549, forcing Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Immanuel Tremellius to leave town.²⁹

Wittenberg was also home to a number of Hebraists. Years after Luther's death, Johannes Mathesius gave a hagiographic picture of Hebrew scholars at work there during 1540, when Luther revised his Old Testament translation.

²⁷ Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism. The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 42–53; Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and his Times*, trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville: Westminster-John Knox, 2004), 147–148; Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus, 1511–1553* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 53–54, 57–61.

²⁸ Bernard Roussel and Gerald Hobbs, "Strasbourg et 'l'école rhénane' d'exégèse (1525–1540)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 135 (1989): 36–53.

²⁹ Lorna Jane Abrey, *The People's Reformation. Magistrates, Clergy, and Commons in Strasbourg, 1500–1598* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 89–90. On Tremellius, see Austin, *From Judaism to Christianity*, 53.

Dr. Martin Luther came ... with the Old Latin and new German Bible in addition to the Hebrew text. Herr Philip [Melanchthon] brought the Greek text, and Dr. Cruciger both the Hebrew Bible and the Targum. The professors all brought their rabbis.

Luther (or perhaps Mathesius) described this group of high-powered theologians and linguists as “a Sanhedrin of the best people possible.”³⁰ To call Luther’s Hebraist colleagues the “best people possible” was an exaggeration even at that time,³¹ but the Wittenberg Hebraists were keenly aware of the importance of mastering Hebrew for biblical interpretation and translation. Wittenberg was the first German university to hire a permanent professor of Hebrew, although each of the first two Hebrew professors, Johannes Boeschenstein and Mathias Adrianus, left after a very short time. Matthias Goldhahn (Aurogallus) was the true founder of Hebrew studies at Wittenberg, teaching and writing there from 1521–1543. Although he is best known for his theological writings and his expertise in Greek, Philip Melanchthon was also a Hebraist who published at least one Hebrew book in Wittenberg. Johannes Forster served as professor of Hebrew (1549–1558), and died shortly after his notorious Hebrew lexicon was printed in Basel. Matthias Flacius also served as professor of Hebrew (1544–1549) at Wittenberg, though he would write his famous *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* much later in his career. Wittenberg was not spared the troubles of the early Reformation period—Emperor Charles V captured the town in 1547—but it was more affected by theological conflicts within Lutheranism than it was by foreign armies.

One final feature that distinguishes the pre-confessional period from later Christian Hebraism is the relatively greater importance of Jewish authors and tutors than in the later period. Of the seventy-three Christian Hebrew authors who had died by 1560, at least nine of them were Jewish converts. The Complutensian Polyglot Bible project could not have been

³⁰ “... so verordnet Doktor Luther wöchentlich eignen Sanhedrin von den besten Leuten zusammen, die damals vorhanden waren.” Johann Mathesius, *Predigten des alten Herrn Magister Mathesius über die Historien von des ehrwürdigen, in Gott seligen, theuren Manns Gottes, Doktor Martin Luthers Anfang, Lehre, Leben und Sterben* (Berlin: Mauerschen Buchhandlung, 1817), 57. See also Burnett, “Reassessing the ‘Basel-Wittenberg Conflict,’” 194.

³¹ The Wittenbergers were well aware of Hebraist scholarship outside of their own city. The theological faculty was able to identify six leading scholars who might be called to replace him: Sebastian Münster, Bernhard Ziegler of Leipzig, Andreas Osiander of Nuremberg, Elias Levita (sic), Paul Fagius of Constance, and Johannes Forster of Schleusingen (who ultimately became professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg in 1549). Their advice to the Elector is summarized in WA Br 10:457 n. 11.

completed without the labors of Alfonso de Zamora, Pablo Coronel and Alonso de Alcalá, since few Christians from birth had the linguistic or technical skills needed to edit Hebrew Bible manuscripts. Paul Paradis, Mathias Adrianus, Antonius Margaritha, and Paulus Ricius were authors of Christian Hebraica and teachers of Hebraists, especially Paradis and Adrianus. Juan Andres and Louis Carretus each wrote polemics against their former brethren. A possible tenth convert author was Johannes Boeschenstein, who may or may not have been Jewish. He himself strongly denied it, though his former colleagues at Wittenberg Luther and Melanchthon both believed that he was.³² While Jewish converts did not comprise a majority of the professors of Hebrew in either Protestant or Catholic universities before 1560, they together with a number of private tutors such as Elias Levita made possible a great leap forward both in Hebrew instruction at universities and in the sheer number of Hebraica books that were composed by Christians with or without Jewish help.³³ Even by 1560 the state of Hebrew learning among Christians was incomparably different than it had been in the later Middle Ages.

The Reformation affected Christian Hebraist authors before 1560, but the fluid religious and political situation allowed for more contact across confessional boundaries. Reuchlin famously disowned his relative Philip Melanchthon over his Protestantism and gave his rich library to a monastery in Pforzheim instead. Erasmus broke ties with Capito and Pellican, though not with his printer Hieronymus Froben. Many Protestant Hebraists such as Capito, Pellican and Münster began writing Hebraica even before 1517, and their works continued to be studied by scholars who remained loyal to the Catholic Church. Both Münster and Fagius dedicated books to Andreas Masius, one in 1539, the other in 1541, honoring a colleague who would ultimately defend the propriety of Hebrew

³² On Boeschenstein, see Thomas Kaufmann, "Luther and the Jews," 69–104, here 81 n. 32, and Timothy J. Wengert, "Philip Melanchthon and the Jews: A Reappraisal," 105–135, here 116–117, both in: *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Dean P. Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006). Neither man was prejudiced against Jewish converts per se, since they both supported Bernhard Göppingen financially and personally off and on for over a decade. See Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, vol. 3: *The Preservation of the Church, 1532–1546*, trans. James L. Schaff (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 335, and Wengert, "Philip Melanchthon," 111.

³³ Stephen G. Burnett, "Jüdische Vermittler des Hebräischen und ihrer christlichen Schüler im Spätmittelalter," in: *Wechselseitige Wahrnehmung der Religionen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. I. Teil. Bericht über Kolloquien der Kommission zur Erforschung der Kultur des Spätmittelalters 2004 und 2005*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann, Thomas Haye, Nikolaus Henkel and Thomas Kaufmann, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, n. s. 4 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 173–188.

scholarship as a Catholic loyalist at the Council of Trent.³⁴ Protestant Sebastian Münster and Catholic Oswald Schrekenfuchs together edited and translated the texts that appeared in *Sphaera mundi* (Basel, 1546).³⁵ Philip Melanchthon and John Calvin could console each other from different theological camps that they would “dine together in heaven forever” whatever their theological differences in the present.³⁶

Political and military developments did affect Hebrew scholarship even in this early period. The Sack of Rome in 1527 forced Elias Levita and his family to flee Rome, leaving behind all of his books and possessions. It also forced the Sapienza University’s Professor of Hebrew Agathius Guidacerius to seek employment in Paris. The occupation of Wittenberg (1547) and the imposition of the Augsburg Interim in Strasbourg (1549) temporarily snuffed out Hebrew scholarship in both places.

The Confessionalization of Hebrew Scholarship

After 1560 the Reformation affected Hebrew scholarship far more directly through the formation of distinctive confessional churches and religious wars. It was the Catholic Reformation, not Protestantism, which began the division of Hebrew scholarship into confessional camps. The decrees of the Council of Trent, the Roman Index of Prohibited Books (1564), the work of the Jesuit Order, and the French and Dutch Wars of Religion all served to draw clear boundaries between Catholic and Protestant Europe. After the Religious Peace of Augsburg a ruthless conflict raged within Lutheranism over its doctrinal identity and by implication its relationship to the Reformed tradition. These developments all had an impact upon university education throughout Europe because university professors were bound by law, oath, and conscience to uphold their own particular confessional traditions and to train students accordingly. Since Hebrew scholarship after 1560 was largely a university-based activity, carried out

³⁴ Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, 78.

³⁵ Schrekenfuch’s confessional loyalties were apparently very loose. He was either called or considered for positions in Lutheran, Catholic and Reformed universities at one time or another. See Stephen G. Burnett, “Christian Hebraism at the University of Tübingen from Reuchlin to Schickard,” in: *Tübingen: Eine Universität zwischen Scholastik und Humanismus*, ed. Sönke Lorenz (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, forthcoming).

³⁶ Timothy J. Wengert, “We Will Feast Together in Heaven Forever’: The Epistolary Friendship of John Calvin and Philip Melanchthon,” in *Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg*, ed. Karin Maag (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 19–44.

by professors of Hebrew or theology, these developments could not fail to affect them and their craft.

The Reformation of the Catholic Church and its attempts to stem the Protestant tide had the greatest impact upon Hebrew scholarship. By reforming itself through the Council of Trent and staunchly supporting the Catholic rulers of France and the Spanish Netherlands as they sought to stamp out Protestantism there, the Catholic hierarchy in Rome sought to shore up Catholicism in places where it was still the state religion and to reconquer areas lost to Protestantism. These measures also had an effect upon Hebrew scholarship, both by attempting to isolate Catholic scholars from their Protestant peers, and by making Catholic universities such as the University of Paris less hospitable to Protestant students.

The Council of Trent was a pivotal event not only for the Reformation but also for Christian Hebraism. The Council established authoritative Catholic doctrine, making explicit where Catholicism differed from Protestantism and thereby removing any doubt as to the boundaries of the true church. Henceforth Protestantism, whether Lutheran, Reformed, or Anglican, was beyond the pale of orthodoxy. To preserve this doctrinal boundary, the Council also decreed that Catholics should read only books written by other Catholics or those that were not explicitly condemned by the Catholic hierarchy. The means they proposed for enforcing their command was the Roman Index of Prohibited Books.³⁷

The outbreak of war in both France and the Spanish-ruled Netherlands also intensified the split between Catholic and Reformed Hebraists by changing the character of the universities of Louvain and Paris and by forcing confessional choice upon individual Hebrew scholars. The University of Louvain was forced to close in 1572 when it was besieged by the armies of William of Orange and effectively remained closed until 1617.³⁸ Johannes Drusius was one of the best-known Hebraists to train there during the 1560's, but he became a religious exile, ultimately teaching Hebrew at the universities of Leiden and Franeker.

The University of Paris became less and less hospitable to Protestants over the course of the 1560's. The French Wars of Religion began to affect

³⁷ By placing the Talmud on the Index, the Catholic hierarchy also thrust the church into oversight of the Jewish book trade, which would have repercussions for Christian Hebraism as well as for Jewish life and learning. On this question and the importance of the Roman and Spanish Indexes of Prohibited Books, see below, chap. 6.

³⁸ Diederik Lanoye and Peter Vandermeersch, "The University of Louvain at the End of the Sixteenth Century: Coping with Crisis?" *History of Universities* 20/1 (2005): 81–107, here 86, 100.

the university by 1567, when Jean Mercier was forced either to flee Paris, or perhaps to retire from public view there because of his (rightly) suspected Protestant leanings.³⁹ The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre (23–26 August 1572) shocked Protestant Europe and made plain that Protestants were no longer welcome at the University of Paris, either to study there or to teach. It forced Joseph Scaliger to live in exile for two years, though he was able to return to France again in 1574.⁴⁰ After the massacre, the University of Paris would continue to educate Hebraists but from a confessionally Catholic perspective. Gilbert Génébrard, a fierce polemicist against Jews and Protestant heretics alike, would be its leading Hebraist scholar for several decades.

Among Protestants, confessional lines of demarcation also hardened, making it increasingly difficult to practice a kind of biblical humanist scholarship that transcended confessional boundaries. For both political and religious reasons Lutherans were most affected by the compulsion to draw strong lines of demarcation between themselves and the Reformed.⁴¹ Under the terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) Lutheranism was a legal confession within the Holy Roman Empire, but the Reformed faith (however defined) was not. Hence Lutheran territorial princes and the city magistrates of evangelical cities and towns, on the one hand, and their theological advisors on the other, had the strongest possible reasons for defining Lutheran orthodoxy in very specific terms. They stoutly refused all attempts by territorial rulers such as Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate (1559–1576) to substitute a more inclusive definition of “Lutheran” that could also bring Reformed Protestants under the protections of the Religious Peace. Universities, and especially theological faculties, were one of the first places where this kind of theological conflict was felt. Two of the most prominent Lutheran Hebraists of the sixteenth century were victims of Lutheran theological infighting: Matthias Flacius and Valentin Schindler. Flacius was one of the most notoriously combative

³⁹ Franco Giaccone, “Jean Mercier et son temps: Documents nouveaux et pièces liminaires,” in: *Jean (c. 1525–1570) et Josias (c. 1560–1626) Mercier. L'amour de la philology à la Renaissance et au début de l'âge classique*, ed. François Roudaut (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2006), 23–42, here 38–42.

⁴⁰ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 1: *Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 124–125.

⁴¹ For a recent survey of the myriad doctrinal issues that convulsed German Lutheranism between Luther's death in 1546 and the Formula of Concord (1577), see Irene Dingel, “The Culture of Conflict in the Controversies Leading to the Formula of Concord (1548–1580),” in: *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 15–64.

Lutheran polemicists, making both Catholic and Lutheran enemies at every turn. He was fired from his position at the University of Jena in 1562 and would ultimately publish his magnum opus, *Clavis Scripturae Sanctae*, at Basel in 1567. Valentin Schindler was professor of Hebrew at the University of Wittenberg from 1571–1592. He was an extremely learned Hebraist and prolific writer, publishing seven books over the course of his lifetime. He was also suspected of Reformed theological leanings, since according to a theological visitation team in 1587, he had not taken communion in the Wittenberg town church in twelve years.⁴² Schindler, together with two other colleagues, was fired from the University of Wittenberg in 1592.⁴³ After Elector Ludwig VI, a convinced Lutheran, succeeded his father Frederick as ruler of the Palatinate, he purged the university of its Reformed faculty in December 1577, including Immanuel Tremellius, its long time professor of theology.⁴⁴

The Reformed churches of Europe were not limited to a particular country or territory, located as they were in Scotland, the Netherlands, a number of territories within the Holy Roman Empire, and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, but also in some regions of France, Poland and in parts of central Europe. Since Reformed Christianity took root in so many places, often as a minority religion, the standards set by national churches for theological orthodoxy and their means for enforcing them differed considerably from country to country. Yet within individual countries the pressure to maintain orthodoxy in the church affected the careers of individual Hebraists, especially in the Dutch Republic. In Franeker, Johannes Drusius was repeatedly forced to answer the accusations and insinuations of colleagues on the theological faculty, above all Sibrandus Lubbertus, concerning his own theological soundness.⁴⁵ In the wake of the Synod of Dort (1618–1619) Guilielmus Coddæus was fired from his position as professor of Hebrew at the University of Leiden.⁴⁶ Taken together, the

⁴² Walter Friedensburg, ed., *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg*, 2 vols. (Magdeburg: Historische Kommission für die Provinz Sachsen, 1926–1927), 1:542, no. 439.

⁴³ Duke Friedrich Wilhelm of Saxony to the University, Torgau, 30 January 1592, *Ibid.*, 1:594, no. 478 n. 1.

⁴⁴ Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism*, 169–170. For further examples of confessional conflicts within Lutheran universities after Luther's death, see Kenneth Appold, "Academic Life and Teaching in Post-Reformation Lutheranism," in: *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture*, 65–115, here 81–89.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴⁶ Peter T. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century. Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 42–43.

increasing confessionalization of European universities and the press controls imposed by the Council of Trent encouraged the development of different approaches to Hebrew scholarship within the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican traditions.

Profiles in Confessional Hebraism after 1560

Apart from doctrinal differentiation, what features of Catholicism, Lutheranism, the Reformed tradition and Anglicanism shaped the study of Hebrew and Jewish texts? To answer this question we must consider the nationality and educational background of these scholars, their professional occupations, and their connection to and dependence upon centers of scholarship and sympathetic patrons. To be sure, some of these scholars had ties to Hebraists of other confessions, but before considering the possibility of cross-fertilization we must focus on the factors that made their scholarly careers possible.

Catholic Hebraism after 1560 had a high degree of continuity in both its ethnic and educational profile with pre-confessional Christian Hebraism.⁴⁷ Of the ninety-four Catholic Christian Hebraist authors active in this time, thirty were French, eighteen were Italian, twelve were German, and sixteen were from Iberia or the Spanish-ruled world (eight Spanish, five from the Spanish Netherlands, and three Portuguese). In addition there were seven scholars from the Middle East (five Syrians, an Egyptian and a Palestinian Jew), eight Jewish converts from various parts of Europe, and three others: a Czech, a Scot, and a Pole. The nine Jewish converts included four Italian, two German, one French, and one Palestinian Jew, a higher proportion of convert authors than among Protestants.

The educational profile of Catholic Hebraists also reflects the greater diversity of educational opportunity than in more university-oriented Protestantism. Only fifty of the ninety-four Hebraist authors were known to have attended universities, where most of them presumably learned Hebrew. Of these writers, twenty studied at the university of Paris, nine at Louvain, six in Rome and five in Cologne. The remainder studied in twenty-two other universities, including such improbable institutions as

⁴⁷ I have included ten Catholic authors who wrote books on Arabic or Syriac because of the close relationship of their work with Hebrew scholarship, above all in Rome and Paris. They include: Joseph Abudacnus, Joseph Acurense, George Amira, Dominicus Germanus de Sylesia, Abraham Echellensis, Giovanni Baptista Ferrari, Tommaso Oblizzino, Isaac Sciadrensis, Gabriel Sionita, and Petrus Strozza.

Heidelberg, Leiden, Marburg, Tübingen, Wittenberg, Nîmes and Geneva, places where Jean Morin, Johannes Pistorius, and Jean Plantavit de la Pause studied before their conversion to Catholicism. Unlike Protestant scholars, Catholics seldom studied at more than one university. Of the fifty Catholic scholars whose educational background is known, thirty-four attended only one university, ten attended two, four attended three, and only two attended four. Two of the six scholars⁴⁸ who attended more than two universities were Protestants who converted to Catholicism. The nine Jews and six Christians from the Middle East presumably learned Hebrew, Syriac and other Middle Eastern languages within their own community settings before entering the Catholic scholarly community.

Thirty-seven of the Catholic authors were members of religious orders: eleven Jesuits, nine Franciscans, three Dominicans and three Augustinians, two Benedictines, two Minims and a sprinkling of others.⁴⁹ While sixteen of these men attended universities at some point in their career, others probably learned Hebrew from other scholars within their own orders. Members of the Jesuit order, with its stress on Hebrew within its own colleges, and of the Franciscan order, with its special responsibility as Catholic guardians of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the Holy Land, had unusually good opportunities to learn Hebrew and other Semitic languages. For example, Franciscan Tommaso Obicini served for a time as Custos of the Holy Land before returning to Rome in 1626. He spent the remaining six years of his life teaching Arabic in Rome and preparing a Syriac-Arabic dictionary for the press.⁵⁰

In addition to alternative means of education in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, Catholic religious orders offered a means of support for Hebrew scholarship unique to themselves. As among Protestants, many Catholic Hebraist writers were professors of Hebrew (thirty-three) or of some other university discipline (ten) and twenty-two Hebraist writers were members of religious orders who did not teach at universities. Jean Morin of the Oratorian Order, for example, was able to devote himself to writing thanks to the support of his order and noble patrons such as Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Together with secular priests (ten), these

⁴⁸ Johann Pistorius and Jean Plantavit de la Pause.

⁴⁹ Others: one each from the Carthusian, Cistercian, Hieronymite, Notre Dame de la Merci, Oratorian, Order of Santiago, and Volombrosa orders.

⁵⁰ Giovanni-Claudio Bottini, "Tommaso Obicini (1585–1632) Custos of the Holy Land and Orientalist," in: *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, ed. Anthony O'Mahony, Göran Gunner and Kervork Hintlian (London: Scorpion Cavendish, 1995), 97–101, here 99–100. The Franciscan order has served as "custodians" of the Holy Places since 1342.

Hebraists comprised more than three quarters (seventy-five) of all Catholic Hebraist writers. The remaining twenty worked as teachers in Latin schools (four), lawyers (four), court officials (four), physicians (two), librarians (three), or were from the minor nobility (two) and one whose occupation is unknown.

These Catholic Hebraist writers, educated in a number of different universities or by other means, and representing a number of European and non-European nationalities, present a picture of diversity. Their relationship to Catholic centers of Hebrew scholarship leaves an entirely different impression. Peter N. Miller noted that early modern centers of “oriental” scholarship possessed a “critical mass of erudition,” which included scholars well versed in the languages, well-stocked libraries, and specialized printing facilities, supported by well-disposed patrons.⁵¹ The presence of a university also helped preserve continuity for Hebrew scholarship since institutional support was longer lasting than the life spans of interested patrons.⁵² Catholic Hebraist writers were far more likely than Protestants to live in centers of scholarship. Of the ninety-four Catholic Hebraist authors, twenty-four made their careers in Paris, and twenty in Rome. Of the remainder, five worked in Salamanca, and no more than two in any other town.⁵³ Salamanca was the shortest-lived of these centers of Hebrew scholarship. During the 1560’s it was home to three outstanding Hebraists on its faculty, Martin Martinez de Cantalapiedra, Gaspar de Grajal, and most famously Luis de Leon.⁵⁴ All three were arrested by the Spanish Inquisition in late March of 1572 on suspicion of heresy. Grajal died in prison before his case came to trial, and Martinez and Luis de Leon were both tried and acquitted, though only Luis de Leon was reinstated in his teaching post at Salamanca. Martinez bitterly told his accusers, “I have labored to interpret scripture before the whole world, but my only reward has been the destruction of my life, my honor, my health and my possessions.” He concluded, “It is better to walk carefully and be prudent.”

⁵¹ See map 1, p. xix. Peter N. Miller, “Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in: *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus / The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 59–85, here 85. I will discuss the importance of specialized printing facilities further in chap. 5.

⁵² However, university positions in Hebrew when vacated through the departure or death of the incumbent could remain long unfilled. See above, chap. 1.

⁵³ I could not find locations or major locations for 18 others.

⁵⁴ Most recently, see Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, *Gaspar de Grajal (1530–1575): Frühneuzeitliche Bibelwissenschaft im Streit mit Universität und Inquisition*. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 140. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1998), 510–520, 701–723.

Martinez's successors among Hebrew authors at Salamanca appear to have followed his advice. Jeremino Munoz and Francisco Farfan each wrote a single rudimentary Hebrew grammar, printed respectively in 1585 and 1594. While Henry Kamen may be correct in his judgment that the incident was uncharacteristic of the impact of the Spanish Inquisition upon Spanish intellectuals and their pursuits, it apparently did have a chilling effect upon Spanish Hebraism.⁵⁵

Rome would remain a center of Hebrew scholarship through the 1660's and beyond. Its infrastructure for academic learning was perhaps the best developed of any European city, since it had the Sapienzia, Rome's university, the Jesuit Collegio Romano and the Maronite College, which was founded in 1590 by Pope Gregory XIV to educate Maronite Christians. Some of these Maronite students, in turn, became professors of Semitic languages, above all Syriac and Arabic, in Rome and elsewhere. Apart from these more traditional academic institutions, Rome had a school for newly converted Jews (Neofiti), founded in 1577, which offered instruction not only in Hebrew, but also Arabic and Syriac.⁵⁶ At least some of Rome's dense network of monastic houses belonging to a host of different religious orders supported Hebrew scholarship, notably the Franciscan monasteries Aracoeli and San Pietro in Montorio. Tomasso Obicini established a school for Arabic study at the latter in 1622.⁵⁷

Rome could also boast several of Europe's largest libraries with sizable collections of Hebrew and Oriental books. The Vatican Library was the largest in the city, and after 1623, with the acquisition of the Palatine library, could boast Europe's largest Hebrew manuscript collection. Other private libraries, such as the Barberini library, were open to those who had the proper personal connections.⁵⁸ In addition to the obvious benefit of having Hebrew books and manuscripts available, these libraries also supported the activities of scholars by providing them work as

⁵⁵ Kamen also noted that suspicion of these three may have stemmed in part from their ancestry: Luis de Leon and Gaspar Grajal were both of converso descent, and witnesses claimed that Martinez was as well. Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 125–28.

⁵⁶ The college was founded at the order of Pope Gregory XIII through the papal bull *Vices ejus nos* (1 September 1577). See Karl Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts*, *Missionswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen und Texte* 4 (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1923), 182, 186.

⁵⁷ Mario Calasio taught Hebrew in both places. BBKL, s. v. "Calasio, Marius de" (by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz), www.bautz.de/bbkl/c/calasio_m.shtml, (accessed 4 November 2009). On Obicini, see, Bottini, "Tommaso Obicini," 98–99.

⁵⁸ On these collections, see below chap. 4.

librarians and Hebrew scribes. The Vatican Library alone employed converts Giovanni Paulo Eustachio, Jona Gianbattista Sabbatini, and Giulio Bartolucci as Hebrew lectors and scribes, all of whom also served as professors of Hebrew at the Sapienza University.⁵⁹

Rome was a scholarly center that attracted and kept Hebraist talent. Of the forty-five Catholic authors who produced two or more Hebraica books (including reprints), ten of them had strong ties to Rome, teaching or working there. Other Catholic authors had ties to Rome as well, notably Jean Morin, who was invited to work in Rome in 1640 by his patron Cardinal Francesco Barberini.

While Rome enjoyed considerable advantages over all potential rivals within the Catholic world, it was Paris that became the center of Catholic Hebrew scholarship after 1560. The Hebrew professors of the Collège Royale were remarkable in their productivity and in their collective ability to train talented successors. Nineteen of the ninety-four Catholic authors who were active after 1560 were educated at the University of Paris. Nineteen of the most prolific Catholic Hebraist authors lived and worked in Paris at some point in their careers, although three of them (Ecchellense, Sionita and Morin) also lived and worked in Rome.

Table 2.1. Catholic Hebraist writers based in Rome

Hebraist Author	Number of Hebraica Imprints
Robert Bellarmine	21
Mario di Calaisio	6
Guglielmo dei Franchi	5
Abraham Ecchelensis	4
Michael Angelus a Sancto Romulo	4
Athanasius Kircher	4
Fabiano Fioghi	3
Isaac Sciadrensis	2
Gabriel Sionita	2
Gianbattista Giona	2

⁵⁹ A genuine but less acknowledged source of Hebrew knowledge could be found among Jewish converts who worked as expurgators for the Roman Inquisition such as Domenico Gerosolimitano. See below, chap. 4.

Table 2.2. Catholic Hebraist writers based in Paris

Hebraist Author	Number of Hebraica imprints
Gilbert Génébrard	58
Jean Cinqarbres	23
Jean Morin	15
Philippe d'Aquin	11
Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie	11
Guillaume Postel	11
Simeon de Muis	9
Jacques Gaffarel	8
Pierre Vignal	6
Joseph de Voisin	5
Arnauld Pontac	5
Pierre-Victor Palma Cayet	4
Abraham Ecchelenensis	4
Jean Boulaise	4
Valerin de Flavigny	3
Alain Restauld de Caligny	3
Jean Plantavit de la Pause	3
Louis Henri d'Aquin	3
Gabriel Sionita	2

Paris outstripped Rome as a center of Catholic Hebrew scholarship not only in the quantity of Hebrew books written there, but also in the quality achieved. It provided the human capital and resources for two of the great polyglot Bible projects. While the Regius or Antwerp Polyglot was certainly the product of printer Christopher Plantin and its talented chief editor Benito Arias Montano, the circle of Hebraists working with Guillaume Postel, living under house arrest in Paris from 1564–1581, made key contributions to its success. In addition to Postel himself, the brothers Guy and Nicholas le Fèvre de la Bodérie, members of the minor nobility, prepared much of the text that would be printed in the Polyglot Bible.⁶⁰ The later Paris Polyglot was produced not only by Paris-based scholars such as Philippe Aquin, professor of Hebrew at the Collège Royale, but also Gabriel Sionita and Abraham d' Ecchellense, both Maronite scholars

⁶⁰ Robert J. Wilkinson, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions 138 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 55–59.

called from Rome specifically for the task.⁶¹ Uniquely, Paris also could boast a number of Hebraists working outside of the university, including Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause, the Almoner of the French queen, Louis Henri d'Aquin, physician to the queen, and Jacques Gaffarel, purchasing agent for Cardinal Richelieu.

Patronage and other forms of support were readily available to Hebraist authors in Paris after 1560. While Paris could not boast of substantial public collections of Hebraica until Cardinal Mazarin opened his library to the scholarly public in 1643, several Hebraists including Gilbert Gaulmin (d. 1668) and Jean Bourdelot (d. 1639) also owned substantial collections.⁶² The Oratorian Library of Paris also had a large and rich collection of Hebrew books and manuscripts, which Oratorian Jean Morin, and later Richard Simon, would study with great profit.⁶³ Through connections with scholars elsewhere, Paris-based Hebraists were also able to gain access to the texts that they needed. Nicholas Peiresc used his contacts in Rome to arrange for a rare manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch to be shipped to Paris, where Jean Morin used it to prepare the first volume of the Paris Polyglot Bible.⁶⁴ When Joseph de Voisin set out to edit the first printed edition of Raymond Martin's *Pugio fidei*, he received one of the four manuscripts that he used courtesy of François Bosquet, Bishop of Lodève. Bosquet himself knew Hebrew and recognized the importance of the manuscript when he found it in the Collège de Foix library in Toulouse.⁶⁵

The world of Lutheran Hebrew scholarship was different from the Catholic world in several important respects. First, Lutheranism was the state religion of parts of Germany and of Scandinavia only rather than a pan-European phenomenon. Second, Lutheran Hebraists were not

⁶¹ See Adrian Schenker, "The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London: 1568–1658," in: *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Magne Sæbø and Michael Fishbane (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 774–784, here 779–781, and the literature cited there.

⁶² See François Secret, "Gilbert Gaulmin et l'histoire comparée des religions," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 177 (1970): 35–63, here 51–63 and Gilbert Dahan, "Le catalogue des livres hébraïques de Jean Bourdelot," *Archives juives* 11/3 (1975): 39–50.

⁶³ On the Oratorian Library, see below, chap. 4.

⁶⁴ Peter N. Miller, "A philologist, a traveler and an antiquary rediscover the Samaritans in seventeenth-century Paris, Rome and Aix: Jean Morin, Pietro della Valle and N. –C. Fabri de Peiresc," in: *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Helmut Zedelmaier and Martin Muslow (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 123–146.

⁶⁵ Raymond Martin, *Pugio Fidei*, ed. Joseph de Voisin (Paris: Jean Henault, 1651), f. e2r-v, f 2r-v. Downloaded from www.judaica-frankfurt.de, 18 May 2009.

concentrated in any single place but dispersed through a number of Lutheran cities and territories, many working as ministers and Latin school teachers, as well as university professors. Of the 129 Lutheran authors, 109 of them (84.5%) were Germans, and another thirteen were Scandinavians, most of them Danes (nine).⁶⁶ The remaining seven were a sprinkling of Czechs (two), and a Dutchman, a Slovak, and a Slovenian, together with three German Jewish converts, and one each from Poland and from Hungary.

The educational profile of Lutheran Hebraists reflects both the importance of universities for Hebrew education within Lutheran Europe and the common practice among northern Europeans of attending more than one university. Of the 120 Lutheran Hebraist authors whose educational background is known,⁶⁷ seventy-three attended one university (60.8%), twenty attended two (16.6%) and twenty-seven attended three or more universities (22.5%). Five of the Scandinavians attended four or more universities, with Conrad Aslacus, the lone Norwegian Hebraist, attending nine universities in the course of his academic journey.

Although future Lutheran authors of Hebraica may well have attended more than one university, only five Lutheran universities educated ten or more of these future authors: sixty-four attended Wittenberg, twenty-four each attended Jena and Leipzig, while nineteen attended Rostock and ten attended Tübingen.⁶⁸ Seven future Hebraist authors attended Copenhagen University while six each attended Altdorf, Königsberg, Giessen and Strasbourg. A further thirteen universities were host to five or fewer future Hebraist authors between 1561–1660.

Many Lutheran Hebraists, however, may have learned the rudiments of the language in Latin school rather than at a university. Throughout his long career at the Ilfeld Latin school, Michael Neander was a strong proponent of Hebrew study. In his well-known *Bedencken an einen guten Herrn und Freund* (1580), he asserted that a boy of six to ten years old should start learning Hebrew verb paradigms so that within six months he would be ready to start reading familiar Hebrew texts.

⁶⁶ There were also three Swedes and a single Norwegian.

⁶⁷ Of the eleven authors whose educational background is unknown, six were Christians from birth and five were Jewish converts who presumably learned Hebrew within their communities.

⁶⁸ On the Tübingen authors, see Burnett, "Christian Hebraism at the University of Tübingen."

Neander suggested that Luther's Small Catechism in Hebrew translation, and Genesis or the historical books would be sufficiently simple for beginning students to read.⁶⁹ By 1580, Neander's own *Grammatices Hebraeae linguae Tabulae succinctae et breves* was in its third printing and Johannes Clajus's polyglot version of Luther's Small Catechism (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German) was in its seventh printing, so Neander's "advice" on teaching Hebrew to younger students had already been adopted far beyond the walls of his own school. Hebrew books written by Latin school teachers such as Peter Artopoeus (eight printings), Johannes Meelführer (seven), Michael Neander (twelve), Conrad Neander (eight), and Johannes Clajus (fifty-seven) were among the most frequently reprinted Lutheran Hebraica books. In addition to Neander, educational theorists and reformers such as Wolfgang Ratke and Andreas Reyher sought through their writings and projects to broaden opportunities for Hebrew education among Latin school-age German boys.⁷⁰

The strong emphasis on Hebrew learning in schools meant that Lutheran Hebraists were less concentrated in university towns or other centers of scholarship than were Catholic authors.⁷¹ They were less likely than Catholics to teach Hebrew at universities. Of the 129 known Lutheran Hebraist authors who were active after 1560, only forty-two (32.5%) taught Hebrew at a university, though they and scholars who taught in other disciplines at the university (seventeen) together made up 45.7% (fifty-nine) of all Lutheran Hebraica authors. Almost half of Lutheran Hebrew authors were teachers in Latin schools (thirty-three or 25.6%) or parish ministers (twenty-six or 20.2%). Of the twelve remaining authors, three were

⁶⁹ "Wenn ein Knabe alle Wochen nicht mehr/denn nur zwey Blettichen/in den Hebraeis Tabulas lernet/so kan er sie one grosse mühe/in einem halben jahr fertig zum ende lernen. Darnach möchte man im pro exemplo praeceptorum Grammaticae exponiren parvum Catechismum Lutheri Hebraeum, oder etwa Genesin, dieweil diese Bücher/und alle libri historici in der Bibel viel leichter sein/denn Davidis, Salomonis, und der Propheten Bücher/welche sehr schwer/auch was die Grammaticam belanget." Michael Neander, *Bedencken an enen guten heren und Freund wie ein Knabe zu leithen und zu unterweisen* (Eisleben: Gubisius, 1583), 31v-32r (Hannover LB, Sig. Bu 2550).

⁷⁰ See Uwe Kordes, *Wolfgang Ratke (Ratichius, 1571–1635). Gesellschaft, Religiosität und Gelehrsamkeit im frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1999), and Annette Gerlach, et. al., *Magister Andreas Reyher (1601–1670): Handschriften und Drucke Bestandverzeichnis* (Gotha: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, 1992).

⁷¹ While Hebrew was frequently taught in Latin schools within Reformed Europe and in England, the sheer number of Lutheran Hebrew books such as the polyglot version of Luther's small catechism that were printed in Lutheran lands provides striking evidence for the vitality of such Hebrew learning in Lutheran Europe. See below, chap. 3.

students, a physician and a lawyer; the occupations of the remaining seven are unknown.⁷²

Lutheran Hebraist authors were known to have lived and worked in fifty-five different towns and cities, though they were most concentrated (four or more authors) in nine of them. Wittenberg again had pride of place with twelve authors, followed by Copenhagen with seven, Hamburg and Leipzig with six each, Helmstedt, Jena and Tübingen with five, and Altdorf with four. None of these towns could boast of a major Judaica collection available for use by scholars, though several university libraries had large collections of Christian Hebraica.

Not all kinds of Hebrew scholarship required extensive library resources, however. Authors who wrote in the fields of Hebrew pedagogy and even biblical exegesis did not necessarily require access to large numbers of manuscripts or Jewish printed books if they owned or could

Table 2.3. Hebraica collections in Lutheran university libraries

Library	Year	Jewish MSS	Jewish imprints	Christian Hebraist Imprints	Total Hebraica
Wittenberg University ⁷³	1678	0	11	134	145 ⁷⁴
Jena University ⁷⁵	1635	1	13	94	108
Helmstedt University ⁷⁶	1618	3	2	94	99
Altdorf University ⁷⁷	1651	0	39	52	91

⁷² On the professions of Hebraica authors see also Stephen G. Burnett, "Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the Time of Solomon Glassius (1593–1656)," in: *Hebraistik - Hermeneutik - Homiletik: Die "Philologia Sacra" im frühneuzeitlichen Bibelstudium*, ed. Christoph Bultmann and Lutz Danneberg. *Historia Hermeneutica*. Series Studia 10 (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

⁷³ Andreas Sennert, *Bibliothecae Academiae Witebergensis Publicae Librorum* (Wittenberg: Joh. Wilck, 1678).

⁷⁴ Sennert, long-time professor of Hebrew and university librarian, donated many of these books himself, noting them in a special section of the printed catalogue (*ibid.*, 39–46).

⁷⁵ Jena UB Sig. Ms Prov Q 15, 5, S. 953–1163.

⁷⁶ Wolfenbüttel HAB Ms Cod.-Guelf. A Extrav. 20, written 1613–14, is an inventory of the ducal library of Wolfenbüttel that was donated to Helmstedt University in 1618.

⁷⁷ Erlangen UB Sig. Ms 2437, f. 323–325, supplemented by Ms 2436, 190r–193v.

borrow certain fundamental texts such as a Hebrew Bible or a Rabbinic Bible with Jewish commentaries, a grammar and a dictionary.⁷⁸

Lutheran Hebraists were less likely to embark upon monumental projects such as polyglot Bibles, but under the proper conditions they were capable of such work. Elias Hutter succeeded in convincing the city council of Nuremberg to lend him 12,000 Gulden to produce his impressive Polyglot Bible.⁷⁹ With the enthusiastic support of Count Ludwig of Köthen, a Reformed prince, Lutheran Martin Trost edited and reprinted Immanuel Tremellius' Syriac New Testament, together with printings of the Syriac Gospel of Mark, the Catholic Epistles and First John, along with his own Syriac dictionary between 1621 and 1623.⁸⁰

The profile of Reformed Christian Hebrew authors was different again from both Catholic and Lutheran Hebraists after 1560. While the phrase "International Calvinism" has become something of a scholarly cliché, it is a reasonable one to use when describing Hebraica authors of the Reformed faith. Scotland, the Dutch Republic, and the Protestant Cantons of the Swiss Confederation had government-supported Reformed churches, as did a number of German territories that adopted the Reformed faith, most famously Hesse-Kassel and the Palatinate. The Reformed faith also had a strong presence as a dissenting church in central and Eastern Europe as well as in France, thanks to the protections of the Edict of Nantes (1598). Accordingly, the profile of Reformed Hebraica authors is considerably more diverse with respect to nationality than their Lutheran counterparts. Of the seventy-seven Reformed Hebraica authors active after 1560, twenty-five were Dutch, twenty German and a further eight were German-speaking Swiss, thirteen were French (including Genevans), and five were Scottish. Of the remaining six scholars, 3 were Hungarian, one was an Italian Jewish convert, and the nationalities of two are unknown.

The educational profile of these Reformed Hebraists is also variegated. Of the Reformed Hebraists whose education is known (seventy-two of seventy-seven or 93.5%), all attended at least one university and over

⁷⁸ Stephen G. Burnett, "Christian Hebraism at the University of Tübingen from Reuchlin to Schickard," in: *Tübingen: Eine Universität zwischen Scholastik und Humanismus*, ed. Sönke Lorenz (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, forthcoming).

⁷⁹ *Das Nürnberger Buchgewerbe. Buch- und Zeitungsdrucker, Verleger und Druckhändler vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Diefenbacher and Wiltrud Fischer-Pache (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtarchivs Nürnberg, 2003), 398–399, no. 2515, dated 15 July 1600.

⁸⁰ See Gerhard Dünnhaupt, "Die fürstliche Druckerei zu Köthen," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 20 (1979), cols. 895–950.

half of them attended more than one in the course of their education. This pattern held up within nearly all nationalities with 52% of the Dutch (thirteen of twenty-five), 70% of the German Reformed (fourteen of twenty) and 62.5% of the German-speaking Swiss (five of eight), 66.6% of the French (nine of thirteen), and two out of three Hungarians. The Scottish Hebraists (four) were the only nationality to break the pattern, all of them attending only one university each. Twenty-six Reformed Hebraists attended three or more universities, ten of these attending four or more in the course of their educational careers. While there was no necessary correlation between the number of universities attended and the quality of a scholarly career (the elder Johannes Buxtorf after all attended a mere two universities), the opportunities for both learning and making scholarly contacts that such university-switching offered would be reflected by Reformed Hebrew scholarship.

While Reformed students often attended more than one university, they tended to study in a rather shorter list of places. Only three universities educated ten or more of these future authors: twenty-five attended Leiden university, and fourteen attended Basel and Heidelberg. Nine future authors attended Franeker and a further nine Geneva. Paris educated eight of them, and six future Hebraists each attended Herborn and Wittenberg. Five more attended Oxford. While Wittenberg and indeed Leipzig (four), Strasbourg (three), Tübingen (three), Altdorf (two), and Jena (one) might seem odd places for a Reformed Hebraist to be educated, this pattern reflects the conflicted relationship between the two major Protestant traditions and their sometimes fluid theological boundaries. Some Reformed Hebraists such as Gregor Francke and Christian Ravius began their studies as Lutherans and later converted to the Reformed faith. Others such as Sebastian Curtius were able to attend Strasbourg University because of a rough and ready form of tolerance worked out in southern Germany between the two competing Protestant parties. The Reformed Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf II would educate a number of Lutheran Hebraists in the final decade of his life, most famously Philip Jacob Spener and Esdras Edzardus, thanks to this change in attitudes.⁸¹ Twenty-two other universities educated five or fewer future Reformed Hebraist authors active between 1561 and 1660.

⁸¹ Johannes Wallmann, *Philipp Jakob Spener und die Anfänge des Pietismus*. Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 42 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1970), 92–96, 124 n. 3, and Jutte Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischer Orthodoxie, 1590–1710* (Hamburg: Christians, 2001), 310.

Hebrew scholarship among Reformed writers was almost always university-related writing. Of the seventy-four Reformed authors whose occupation is known, almost three quarters of them taught at universities (fifty-three or 71.6%) with half of them (thirty-seven) teaching Hebrew. Only eight (10.8%) worked as ministers and a mere five (6.75%) as Latin school teachers. The remaining nine were physicians (three), noblemen (two) or (one of each) a lawyer, court official, librarian, or student. Reformed authors therefore were more likely to live in centers of scholarship than their Lutheran counterparts. The most important Reformed centers of Hebrew scholarship and printing where Hebrew writers lived after 1560 were Leiden (thirteen), Franeker (seven) and Utrecht (three) in the Dutch Republic, Basel (seven), Geneva (four), and Zurich (three) in Switzerland, and Heidelberg (four) and Herborn (three) in German-speaking Europe. Reformed Hebrew authors were somewhat more likely than their Lutheran counterparts to live in centers, although their form of Hebrew learning clearly enjoyed support outside of them as well.

Reformed centers of scholarship could boast superior library collections of Hebraica to those available in Lutheran territories as well. Leiden University Library benefited from the generosity of Joseph Scaliger who donated most of his Hebrew and oriental collection to

Table 2.4. Hebraica collections in Reformed lands

Library	Year	Jewish MSS	Jewish Imprints	Christian Hebrew Imprints	Total Hebraica
Basel University Library	1625	0	14	102	116
Leiden University Library	1640	22	83	152	257 ⁸²
Heidelberg University Library	1622	261	11	110	383

⁸² Daniel Heinsius, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1640).

the library.⁸³ The Basel magistrates provided for the university library by requiring that local printers to provide copies of each book they printed, including Judaica.⁸⁴ The Heidelberg university library enjoyed the patronage of a succession of counts.⁸⁵

Anglican Christian Hebraism differed from continental Protestant Hebraism in several important respects and therefore deserves separate treatment. The Anglican Church had developed into a Protestant confession rather differently than the Lutheran or Reformed churches. While it had in the Thirty Nine Articles (1563) a common confession of faith, the creed was designed to be inclusive rather than to create harsh lines of demarcation among various shades of Protestant belief. Nicholas Tyack observed that while the Reformed faith was the “de facto religion of the Church of England under Queen Elizabeth and King James,” it was not officially so prescribed.⁸⁶ Despite its Reformed ethos, worship practices of the church were not changed to conform to continental Reformed practice on the continent. The Anglican hierarchy and parish structure remained unchanged after the Protestant direction of the church had become firmly fixed.⁸⁷ Even after Archbishop Laud began to steer the church in a more Arminian direction theologically, he was following a development within the Reformed tradition that was already apparent in the Dutch Republic. Christian Hebrew authors were most active between 1648, when the Anglican Church was formally dissolved and when it was restored in 1660, but since nearly all of them were educated as Hebraists under the old regime I have labeled them “Anglicans” for the purposes of this study.

The Anglicans were almost by definition English, as were thirty-eight of the forty-two Anglican Hebraist writers. The remaining four included two Protestants from the Church of Ireland, James Ussher and Dudley Loftus; Meric Casaubon, a Frenchman raised in England; and Victorin Bythner,

⁸³ Scaliger's personal collection comprised eighteen Hebrew manuscripts, fifty-four Jewish imprints and forty-three Christian Hebrew books. On the manuscripts, see Albert van der Heide, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Leiden University Library* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1977), 48–64.

⁸⁴ Basel UB Ms AR I 18 (1625).

⁸⁵ On the growth and fate of the Palatine Library, see chap. 4. I have drawn the figures for printed books from Elmar Mittler, *Bibliotheca Palatina: Druckschriften, Stampati Palatini, Printed books: Katalog zur Mikrofiche Ausgabe*, 4 vols. (München: Saur, 1999).

⁸⁶ Nicholas Tyack, *Anti-Calvinists. The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 7–8.

⁸⁷ Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 230–254.

a Pole. Their educational background was also homogenous, with twenty-four attending Cambridge, seventeen attending Oxford, two attending Trinity College Dublin, and Bythner attending Frankfurt/Oder University in Brandenburg. Of the remaining two authors, John Mishneu had no formal university training and the educational background of Alexander Rowley is unknown. While some future English authors had the opportunity to study or train with foreign-born scholars at Oxford or Cambridge, they were usually not as well travelled as their continental colleagues. The Anglican means of patronage for scholars were also different than those that supported Reformed authors on the continent as well.

Anglican Hebrew scholarship differed from the rest of the Reformed world in both its occupational structure and in its centers of scholarship. Less than a third (twelve of forty-two or 28.6%) were university professors and a mere three of these taught Hebrew. Anglican writers were closer to the Lutherans in their occupational choices than to their Reformed counterparts on the continent. Of the forty-two Anglican writers, almost half of them were ministers (twenty) and five others were schoolteachers. Parish ministry appointments did not necessarily condemn authors to rural isolation and obscurity, however. Of the nineteen authors whose biographies are clear enough on where they did their actual study, ten of them worked in London, eight in Cambridge, and five in Oxford. Some Hebraists, however, thrived in village parishes. William Bedwell, the famed Arabist, had students literally beating a path to his door to study with him in Tottenham High Cross, among them Thomas Erpenius, Samuel Bochart, and Edward Pococke.⁸⁸

London was the single most important center where Hebrew authors lived in England, as it was for Hebrew printing. While it was not a university town per se, it had an infrastructure of learning that was fully capable of supporting Hebrew scholarship. Christian Ravius taught Oriental languages there in 1647, probably in connection with the attempt of Samuel Hartlib to found a university.⁸⁹ The Westminster school had two Hebrew writers on its faculty, the headmaster Richard Busbye and usher Adam Littleton. London was also where Brian Walton first brushed up on his

⁸⁸ Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist (1563–1632)* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 31, 52–53.

⁸⁹ See Dirk van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632–1704*, trans. Michiel Wielema and Anthony Ossa-Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 64–66, and Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s. v. “Ravis [formerly Raue], Christian” (by G. J. Toomer), www.oxforddnb.com/ (accessed on 17 August 2009).

oriental languages and, after the loss of his parish living, where he edited and published a newer and better Polyglot Bible to supersede the recently published Paris Polyglot. London also had a number of libraries with Hebraica collections, the most important of which was the Sion College Library founded in 1626 for the use of the London clergy.⁹⁰ John Lightfoot moved to London in 1628 so that he could use the library for his work.⁹¹ Both John Selden and his protégé Francis Taylor also used its collection to support their writing projects. The libraries of Westminster Abbey, Lambeth Palace, and the Royal Library held a certain amount of Hebraica that those with the right connections could use. The Cottonian library had, among its other treasures, a rare manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁹²

Hebraica Book Dedications and their Honorees

If identifying educational patterns, professional activities, and centers of scholarship help to us to profile confessionally distinctive groups of Christian Hebraist authors, the types of honorees whose patronage or goodwill these Hebraist authors sought also distinguishes Protestant from Catholic, and the different groups of Protestants from each other.

Dedicating newly written texts to a patron or would-be patron dates back to classical antiquity, and it continued to be a feature of both medieval and early modern European literary life.⁹³ The advent of printing made the search for patronage all the more important since it became far more costly to circulate newly written works.⁹⁴ Kristeller noted that it was widely believed among writers and patrons that an author honored the recipient of a book dedication, and therefore it was customary for recipients to reward the author with a monetary gift or in some other way.

⁹⁰ John Spencer, *Catalogus Universalis Librorum omnium in Bibliotheca Collegii Sionii apud Londinenses* (London: Leybourn, [1650]).

⁹¹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Lightfoot, John (1602–1675)" (by Newton E. Key), www.oxforddnb.com/ (accessed on 17 August 2009).

⁹² R. Gerald Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 45–46, 469, 588–589.

⁹³ Saskia Stegeman discusses the general dimensions of early modern authors' use of dedications to find patrons in "De moralitate ac utilitate dedicationum. Dedications to and by Theodorus Janssonius Van Almelooven (1657–1712)," *Lias* 22 (1995): 175–196, here 177–184.

⁹⁴ Cynthia J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 12.

It also became customary for recipients of dedications to pay the cost of printing such books.⁹⁵

A patron's acknowledgment of a dedication might also take other forms besides monetary payment.⁹⁶ Patronage for writers of academic books might involve support prior to the completion of the work, through appointment to a lay or ecclesiastical post, residency in the patron's household, pensions paid to the writer, or the payment of an honorarium or another kind of reward after the appearance of a book or even the loan of manuscripts. Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, for example, performed several of these services for his literary clients William Bedwell and Nicholas Fuller.⁹⁷ The dedication of a book to a pope or powerful ruler could provide a measure of protection for a controversial work or even serve as a stamp of official approval.⁹⁸ Dedication of books might also reflect a prior patron-client relationship (sometimes explicitly stated in the dedication itself), a grateful recognition from the author of prior kindness shown by the recipient, or an appeal to the recipient for support of some other kind. Erasmus noted that when he dedicated his paraphrase of the *Epistle to the Romans* to Cardinal Grimani he did not receive any money at all, but that he gained what he sought. "What I was hoping for he gave me—support and good will for the humanities and for Reuchlin."⁹⁹ Moreover, the dedication of books to colleagues at the university or to foreign scholars was intended to honor them or to cultivate their goodwill rather than to recoup the costs of printing the book. The final decision, of course,

⁹⁵ Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Scholar and His Public in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," in idem, *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning. Three Essays*, ed. and trans. Edward P. Mahoney (Durham: Duke University Press, 1974), 3–25, here 14–15. See also Natalie Z. Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983): 69–88, here 74–81.

⁹⁶ Erasmus discussed this question at length in a letter to Johann van Botzheim, Basel, 30 January 1523, CWE 9: 291–364, here 358 (no. 1341A). He may, however, have protested rather too strenuously that he did not seek wealth with his dedications. See Jean Hoyoux, "Les Moyens d'Existence d'Érasme," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 5 (1944), 7–59, here 47–49 for a list of honoraria given to Erasmus in return for dedications.

⁹⁷ Hamilton, *Bedwell*, 28, 38, 45–46, and *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Fuller, Nicholas (c.1557–1623)" (by Gareth Lloyd Jones), www.oxforddnb.com, (accessed 14 May 2010).

⁹⁸ Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 230 gives a rather measured interpretation of a dedication by Felix Pratensis to Pope Leo X: "The combination of a dedicatory letter to the pope ... and papal privilege indicates that the papacy had some knowledge of Fra Felice's biblical scholarship and approved, or at least did not object to being associated with it."

⁹⁹ Erasmus to Johann von Botzheim, Basel, 30 January 1523, CWE 9: 291–364, here 356–364 (no. 1341A).

whether to accept a dedication and provide some kind of reward for it rested entirely with the recipient of the dedication.¹⁰⁰ Hebraist authors from the various confessions dedicated their works to patrons they thought were most able to support the printing of their books or to provide the public approval that they needed in the face of criticism. Their appeals for support shed light on both the demand for Hebraica books within confessional communities and the kinds of books that absolutely had to have outside funding in order to be produced.

Given the sheer volume of Christian Hebrew printing after 1560, I have chosen six of the largest centers where Hebraica was produced and where Hebraist authors were educated and worked to discover their most common sources of support.¹⁰¹ While the political power structures of these cities differ tremendously, from Papal Rome to the royal capitals of Paris and London, and from Saxon Wittenberg to Basel and Leiden, it is still possible to distinguish appeals to the highest circles of rulers from those

Table 2.5. Patterns of dedications of hebraica books after 1560¹⁰²

	Rome	Paris	Wittenberg	Basel	Leiden	London
Royal Family		8				7 ¹⁰³
Territorial Ruler			23		5	
Government		5	1		3	
Official						
Court Official		8				1
Foreign Official, gentry			3	6	2	1
Pope	8	3				
Cardinal	15	21				
Bishop or Abbot	1	16				7
Foreign Ruler	3			9	5	

(Continued)

¹⁰⁰ Gabriele Jancke, *Autobiographie als soziale Praxis: Beziehungskonzepte in Selbstzeugnissen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts im deutschsprachigen Raum*, *Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit* 10 (Köln, Weimar and Wien: Böhlau, 2002), 129.

¹⁰¹ I will discuss centers of Christian Hebrew printing in chap. 5. See also map 2, p. xx.

¹⁰² I have included dedications for Syriac books printed in Syriac type to emphasize the distinctive role of Rome, and to a lesser degree Paris as centers of oriental publishing as well as Hebrew. Some of the same scholars were involved in both kinds of writing.

¹⁰³ This includes the London Polyglot Bible, first dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, then belatedly to Charles II.

Table 2.5. (Cont.)

	Rome	Paris	Wittenberg	Basel	Leiden	London
Foreign Churchman			4	2	3	
Gentry or Members of Parliament			4			13
Town Rulers			15	5	3	
University Administration					7	2
Colleagues or Teachers		7	10	7	7	8
Students		1	1	3		
Parish Clergy					1	2
Other		2	3		1	2
Unknown		5	3			
Total	27	76 for 73 books	67 for 66 books	32	36 for 34 books	43

to local authorities such as university trustees or town councils or even those honoring friends, countrymen and colleagues.

Catholic authors and recipients had a far greater need of patronage than any of their Protestant counterparts.¹⁰⁴ This is most clearly the case in Rome itself, the nerve center of Catholicism but also the capital city of the Papal States. Of the twenty-four *Hebraica* (and Syriac) first editions printed after 1560 in my sample, eight were dedicated to a pope, fifteen to various cardinals (all Italian), and one to a lowly abbot. The remaining three were the individual volumes of Athanasius Kircher's monumental *Oedipus Aegypticus* (Rome, 1652–1654), which was dedicated to Emperor Ferdinand III. Four of the eight papal dedications were for Syriac-language service books that were not only produced by an official church press but presumably needed a papal imprimatur to ensure their acceptability. Pope Paul V received a dedication from his confessor Mario Calasio for *Canones generales linguae sanctae Hebraicae* (Rome, 1616) and for Fabiono

¹⁰⁴ I have limited my sample to the dedications of first printings of books in the cities I have examined: Rome and Paris (Catholic), Wittenberg (Lutheran), Basel and Leiden (Reformed), and London (Anglican).

Fioghi's *Dialogo fra il cathecumino* (1611). Pope Alexander VII received a dedication for another book intended for the Jewish mission, Giovanni Battista Giona's *Dottrina Christiana Breve* (Rome, 1658). Honorees in Rome, therefore, were associated with Syriac imprints, Hebrew grammars and the Jewish mission, all readily identifiable with the church's mission.

The Catholic Hebraists of Paris, or Hebraist authors who had their books printed there after 1560, also sought ecclesiastical support and legitimacy through their dedications, although the city could boast a thriving intellectual culture that was more independent of ecclesiastical ties. Over half of all dedications of first edition Hebrew books in Paris (40 of 76 honorees) were to high church officials such as popes and cardinals (seven of them French and three Italians). Sixteen books were dedicated to bishops or abbots, all sixteen of them French or living in France. However, since both Cardinal Armand Richelieu (4) and Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1) were also chief ministers of France, the distinction between a dedication to a prince of the church and to a government leader could be a nebulous one in practice, at least for French authors. Members of the royal family received eight dedications (10.5%), including the Paris Polyglot Bible (together with Cardinal Mazarin). Other officials, whether they were members of court or government officials, received thirteen dedications. Of the remaining dedications, seven were given to colleagues (including four members of the Sorbonne faculty), and two to family members (one to a father, one to a brother). Some dedications bear straightforward acknowledgements of long-standing client-patron relationships. For example, Gilbert G  n  brard dedicated four of his early books to Abbot Antoine du Prat, his patron.¹⁰⁵ Others are more coy, as for example Guy le F  vre de la Boderie, who dedicated his French translation of Francesco Giorgio's *Harmonia mundi* (1578) and his own *La Galliade* (1578) to two individuals not readily identified, Monsieur Des Prez, "gentilhomme parisien" and Monseigneur Pour Estrenes de l'An in 1578.¹⁰⁶

Catholic Hebraist authors whose works were published in Rome and in Paris could anticipate support for their publication programs. Sometimes their works were in fact commissioned at the highest level, as the Maronite Syriac prayer books were, while at other times patron-client relationships between author and dedicatee, as between Pope Paul V and his chaplain Mario Calasio or Abbot du Prat and Gilbert G  n  brard determined the

¹⁰⁵ Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hebreu    Paris au XVI   si  cle: inventaire chronologique* (Paris: Biblioth  que nationale, 2004), nos. 274, 281, 300, 316.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 364, 365.

dedications of works. The noisy public quarrel between Guy Michel Le Jay, the patron of the Paris Polyglot Bible, and Cardinal Richelieu over whether the latter would receive the honor of a dedication for the work demonstrates that some dedications were worth fighting for, since they enhanced the reputation of the recipient as well as the giver.¹⁰⁷ Yet the overwhelming number of dedications to patrons of extremely high status among Hebraica books printed in Rome and Paris suggests not only robust support for their work at the highest levels, but also a corresponding weakness in sales demand. By themselves the incidence of Catholic dedications does not bear out this hypothesis, but a comparison with patterns of dedication among Protestant Hebraica authors shows a rather different set of patronage relationships.

Lutheran Hebraica authors sought high-level support for their work as Catholic authors did, but not with quite the same regularity. Of the sixty-seven first printings in Wittenberg, about a third (twenty-three) involved dedications to territorial princes. Duke August of Saxony (1526–1586) received nine of these dedications. Among the works that honored him was Johannes Habermann's *Liber radicum* (Wittenberg, 1568), a complete Hebrew Bible printing in quarto (1581), Johannes Draconites' polyglot versions of Genesis (1563) and Joel (1565), and two grammatical works by Valentin Schindler. His successors Christian II (ruled 1591–1611) and Johann Georg I (ruled 1611–1656) received three and four dedications each. Other Lutheran princes who received dedications included members of the house of Brandenburg (three), the Dukes of Braunschweig (four), and one each for the Dukes of Schleswig-Holstein, Stettin, and Wurttemberg, and the Landgrave of Hessen.

The next largest category of honorees was surprisingly city councils or individual councilors (fifteen or 22.4%). Depending upon the city such support could be quite substantial. The Nuremberg city council received a dedication for Johannes Draconites' polyglot version of Proverbs (Wittenberg, 1564), as well as those for locally produced books such as Julius Conrad Otto's *Grammatica Hebraea* (Nuremberg, 1605) and Elias Hutter's *Biblia Sacra Ebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, Latine, Germanice, Saxonicè* (Nuremberg, 1599). Appealing to a city council or to individual councilors for support, especially if the author was a son of that town or could claim a special relationship to it, was certainly a petition from a person of lower status to a ruling body, but it took place at a more

¹⁰⁷ Peter N. Miller, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible," 83 and n. 62.

personal level than a similar petition to a territorial prince. While town officials probably understood defraying the printing cost of a Hebrew book to be aid for a local author, the frequency with which Lutheran authors sought their support is a striking contrast to Hebraist authors in Paris and Rome.

A dedication to an academic or professional colleague, the third largest number of dedications made by Wittenberg Hebraica authors (ten or 14.9%) was probably less an appeal for full payment of printing costs than a gesture of honor or gratitude. Such a gesture was only feasible for a Hebraica printing project when the printer anticipated that enough customers would purchase the book that he would have no trouble borrowing the money to produce it or could do so with funds on hand. While we find a similar readiness to dedicate books to colleagues in Paris (seven imprints or 9.2%), none of the Roman authors dedicated their books to colleagues.

The remaining dedications were offered to members of a number of social groups. Seven dedications were offered to lesser nobles, and four others to German churchmen of varying importance. Two of the four were [Lutheran] canons of the Magdeburg Cathedral church, a third to Archbishop Sigismund of Magdeburg, and the last to Polycarp Leyser, a court preacher at the Saxon court in Dresden. Laurentius Fabricius dedicated two of his books, *Partitiones codicis hebraei* (1610) and *Metrica Hebraeorum* (1623), to large numbers of individuals, the former to nine men including no fewer than three Lutheran bishops in Scandanavia, the latter to a group of five fellow Danzigers and two others who lived in nearby Marienburg. Since so many individuals were named in each of these dedications it is difficult to believe that they were named by Fabricius in an effort to recoup his printing costs, since he did not specially recognize the merits of any one of them.

Just as Lutheran Germany differed from the Papal States and from Catholic France in its confession and in its diffuse political structure, so the pattern of dedications offered for Wittenberg Hebraica books differed from Rome and Paris. While territorial princes received a third of all dedications, especially for more ambitious works, city councils, and the lower nobility received almost the same number. Ecclesiastical patronage was not completely lacking, but with only four dedications to German churchmen it did not play a decisive role. The surprising number dedicated to colleagues and miscellaneous others (including Fabricius' fellow Danzigers) leaves the impression that the authors of these books did not have to worry about providing subventions to the printers.

These dedications suggest that there was a stronger demand for Hebrew books in Lutheran lands than for Catholic Hebraica printed in either Rome or Paris.

Reformed Hebrew authors had a greater need for patronage than their Lutheran counterparts but could also draw from a much broader base of potential supporters than Catholic authors. Authors in the tiny city republic of Basel had to produce books that would export well, and it is no surprise that over half of the dedications they offered were to foreign dignitaries of one kind or another, whether rulers (nine or 28.1%), lesser noblemen (four or 12.5%), or churchmen (two or 6.25%). Three of the five city councils that received dedications were German: Breslau, Hamm, and Bremen, and a fourth was Bern. The younger Buxtorf's dedication of a book to his friend Bürgermeister Johann Rudolf Wettstein in 1659 was the only appeal to a local authority.¹⁰⁸ Most of the colleagues honored (six of eight) were foreign, as were both of the students so recognized.

The two Buxtorfs, father and son, wrote eighteen of the thirty-two Basel Hebrew titles that appeared after 1560, and their work dominated Hebraist printing there. Both men had stellar reputations as scholars and both became extremely proficient in gaining honoraria by appealing to Reformed patrons of many kinds.¹⁰⁹ As a young author, Buxtorf the father offered dedications to any ruler or ruling body that he could claim any relationship with. He dedicated his first Hebrew grammar to the Hamm town council (1605), since it was in the Hamm gymnasium that he first learned Hebrew. His first full-length Hebrew lexicon (1607) he offered to the three young counts of Bentheim whom he knew from his school days in Herborn. He dedicated his Hebrew composition textbook *Sylva epistolarum* (1603) to a Dutch colleague, Johannes Drusius of Franeker. Drusius' acknowledgment of the dedication was to send him copies of a few of his own books. The publication of this book and *Synagoga Judaica* (1603) also brought Buxtorf to the attention of Joseph Scaliger, who invited Buxtorf to correspond with him.¹¹⁰ By first gaining Scaliger's favor, the elder Buxtorf was able to appeal successfully to the States General of the Netherlands

¹⁰⁸ On the relationship between the two men, see Julia Gauss and Alfred Stoecklin, *Bürgermeister Wettstein: der Mann das Werk die Zeit* (Basel: Schwabe, 1953), 307.

¹⁰⁹ Cardinal Richelieu actually solicited a dedication from Buxtorf the younger though his book purchasing agent Johan Tileman Stella in 1641. Mayer Kayserling, "Richelieu, Buxtorf Père et Fils, Jacob Roman," *Revue des études juives* 8 (1884): 74–95, here 81.

¹¹⁰ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 27–28.

for honoraria. The two books that he dedicated to the States General, *Thesaurus Grammaticus* (1609), and *Tiberias* (1620), were rewarded with honoraria that amounted to almost two years of his salary.

The younger Buxtorf was able to trade on his father's name and reputation by dedicating his *Concordantiae* to the Estates of Holland (1632). The dedication for his *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (1639) was offered the Estates of Groningen and of Holland. Van Rooden summarized Franciscus Gomarus's strategy to aid Buxtorf in his quest for an honorarium.

He himself [Gomarus] and Alting would use their influence with the States of Groningen. Buxtorf must induce L'Empereur to approach the Zeeland representatives in the States General at the The Hague, Beaumont and Vosbergen. Further, Buxtorf must ask L'Empereur if he would ask his colleague Walaeus to exert his great influence in the States of Zeeland and the Church council of Middelburg. In his letter Gomarus used a technical term for having influence over a politician: "gratia pollere apud." This lobbying yielded the desired results and Buxtorf received a not inconsiderable recompense for his dedication.¹³¹

This was not the last time that the younger Buxtorf would approach wealthy and powerful patrons with dedications, as he sought the support from the Landgrave of Hesse for his *Anticritica* (1653) and from Count Karl Ludwig of the Palatine for translation of Judah ha-Levi's *Kuzari* (1660). On four occasions, however, he dedicated works to colleagues who could not be expected to reward him with much more than their good will, though as the example of Gomarus and his colleagues illustrates, that could result in substantial future rewards through their good offices.

The dedications offered by Leiden Hebraica authors show a pattern of priorities similar to the Basel authors. About a quarter of the honorees were government bodies such as the Estates of Holland and West Friesland (four), the States General (one), members of those bodies or other government officials (three). Seven each were offered to university authorities of various kinds and to colleagues, while foreign nobles or rulers (five) and foreign high churchmen (three) together made up another quarter of the honorees. Rulers of towns (three), pastors (one), and the children of Zurich Hebraist Caspar Waser (one) complete the dedicatees of Leiden books.

The writing prowess of four Leiden Hebraists, Constantin L'Empereur and Louis de Dieu (six dedications each), Thomas Erpenius (three) and

¹³¹ Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies*, 204.

Johannes Drusius (five) accounted for over half of all Leiden dedications. L'Empereur used some of his dedications as a way to honor those who aided his professional advancement. He thanked the Estates of Holland for his appointment to Leiden University with the dedication of his translation of Mishnah tractate *Middot* (1630) to the Estates of Holland, and he acknowledged the curators of Leiden University for his special appointment as *Professor Controversiarum Judaicarum* with the dedication of *Halchot Olam* (1634). Unfortunately, it appears that L'Empereur's specialized translations and annotations of rabbinical texts failed to attract major funding from his honorees. The Leiden printers Elzevier and Maire flatly refused to print any more of his works after 1637 since they were unable to sell enough copies.¹¹²

Other Leiden authors were less focused upon their professional advancement than L'Empereur and cast their nets more widely with dedications. Louis de Dieu specialized in philological annotations on the Bible, employing wherever possible insights derived from Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac to illuminate the text. He offered dedications to his colleague Daniel Heinsius, to several Leiden pastors, and to university colleagues, but also to the rulers of Leiden itself and to Archbishop James Ussher. Thomas Erpenius, who not only wrote books but also printed them, was all too aware of the expenses involved with printing books in oriental languages. He offered dedications to the Estates of Holland for his printing of the Psalms in Syriac (1625), to Cornelius van der Myle, the son-in-law of Oldenbarnveld, and to Adrian Mathenes, curator of Leiden University, for his *Grammatica Arabica* (1613), and to his Leiden University colleagues Polyander, Rivet, Walaeus, and Thys for his Hebrew grammar (1627). Johannes Drusius was by any standard the most successful all of these scholars where patronage was concerned. The States General of the Dutch Republic underwrote the costs of printing Drusus's annotations on the entire Bible from 1613 until 1622.¹¹³

Anglican authors sought support from somewhat different sources than the continental Reformed writers, or indeed Lutheran ones, since

¹¹² Ibid., 108, 131 n. 141.

¹¹³ The States General resolutions have not been entirely published, but see provisionally *Resolutien der Staten-Generaal*. Nieuwe reeks, 1610–1670, ed. A.Th. van Deursen (Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1971-present. 7 vols) = *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatien*. Grote serie 135, 151–152, 176, 187, 208, 223. Here vol. 135 (1610–1612), no. 443 (4 June 4 1612); vol. 151 (1613–1616), no. 788 (19 Oct. 1613), no. 655 (1 Aug 1614); vol. 152 (1617–1618), no. 1429 (27 Sept 1617); vol. 176 (1619–1620), no. 411 (7 March 1619), no. 1122 (12 July 1619); and vol. 187 no. 3982 (19 August 1622).

they were subjects of a Protestant monarch (until 1647), and subject to an ecclesiastical hierarchy that had retained its pre-Reformation structure and would do so until its brief abolition between 1649 and 1660. Members of the ruling family (including the dedication of the London Polyglot Bible to Cromwell) received seven dedications and the Privy Council one (18.6%). English bishops received nearly as many dedications (seven or 16.28%), Archbishop Laud being honored with three dedications and Archbishop Ussher with the other four.¹¹⁴ Almost a third of the dedications (thirteen or 30.23%), however, were offered to English gentry or members of Parliament. Other recipients included colleagues, home universities, and parish clergy. Unusually, two women received book dedications from London authors: Princess Elizabeth (then thirteen years old) received a dedication from Alexander Rowley for his book *The Scholars Companion* (1648), and Lady Viscontess Katherine Ranelagh, the sister of Robert Boyle, received two dedications for Hebrew textbooks, both from William Robertson (1653, 1654).¹¹⁵ The strong support of the English gentry for Hebrew scholarship made English writers less dependent upon centers than their Reformed counterparts, and again more like Lutherans.

Hebrew scholarship as measured by dedications for new titles certainly flourished in confessional Europe, as the examples of Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed and Anglican printing centers illustrate, but it did so in different ways. Above all in Rome, but also in Paris, Catholic Hebraica authors sought and presumably found support from the highest levels of religious and temporal authority. Catholic writers rarely had the luxury of using dedications to honor their colleagues or their hometowns. They offered dedications to the powerful presumably because their printers could not count on strong sales of such books to pay for themselves. Catholic writers were far more dependent upon patronage than their Protestant counterparts, whether by living in a major Catholic center or receiving support from a patron, often an ecclesiastical patron such as a cardinal, bishop or abbot. It already seems clear, even before considering the respective records of Protestant and Catholic presses, that Catholic Hebraism was a hothouse flower that required much more tending than its Protestant counterparts.

¹¹⁴ Two of Ussher's dedications were offered by Christian Ravius in 1650, and by Christopher Cartwright in 1653. These occurred after Ussher had lost his office as bishop, though he retained the respect of Reformed scholars throughout Europe.

¹¹⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Jones, Katherine, Viscountess Ranelagh (1615–1691)" (by Sarah Hutton), www.oxforddnb.com/ (accessed 3 April 2010).

Lutheran authors also on occasion appealed to the highest authorities to fund their works, but they had a wider variety of authorities to which they could appeal and reasonably hope for a positive response. Lutheran Hebraist writers (and their printers) were apparently more confident that there would be demand for their books. Lutheran consumer demand was fuelled by school as well as university users, and the large number of dedications offered to town councils suggests that these provincial authorities too felt a certain responsibility to support not only the university professors but also the pastors and schoolmasters who wrote much of the Lutheran Hebrew corpus of work.

Reformed and Anglican Hebraist writers (and their printers) were apparently just as confident that there was a market for their works. Basel and Leiden authors could appeal to a variety of prospective patrons, and in the States General of the Netherlands and in Dutch provincial estates they often found generous supporters. Anglican authors, like their continental counterparts and indeed like Lutheran authors, could seek support with confidence among traditional authorities and the gentry alike, because Hebrew scholarship was valued within the English world of learning. Perhaps the most remarkable proof for this was the four-volume London Polyglot Bible (1653–1657), which was published by subscription and received only limited support from its patron Oliver Cromwell. Catholic observers such as Jean Morin, who devoted over a decade to his life to the Paris Polyglot Bible (1643–1645), could only look on in amazement and perhaps envy at the achievement.¹¹⁶

The doctrinal and political divisions that were already visible before the Council of Trent hardened into permanent confessional boundaries as the Catholic Reformation was implemented in Italy, Iberia, the Spanish Netherlands and Catholic Germany and as Protestants, in turn drew lines of confessional demarcation between themselves. After 1560 would-be Hebrew scholars living in Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed countries and in England studied Hebrew within a greater variety of settings than their predecessors, but they also lived within an atmosphere of confessional competition and polemics. Hebraist authors supported themselves through a number of different occupations, though like most present day authors they usually wrote their books in addition to performing their normal duties. They could also hope that appeals to political or religious

¹¹⁶ Peter N. Miller, "The Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–1657), *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62/3 (2001): 463–482, here 467.

authorities in the form of book dedications would result in honoraria or further patronage. The patronage that Christian Hebraist authors received from each of these confessions points to an unavoidable conclusion: the authorities within each of these new Christian confessions believed that supporting a body of experts in Hebrew language and literature would be advantageous for their church and that it posed no threat to their own form of Christian orthodoxy. These authors wrote Hebraica books that reflected both their own individual interests and the differing needs and priorities of their confessional churches. After 1560 distinctly different confessional forms of Christian Hebrew scholarship emerged, as the next chapter reveals.

CHAPTER THREE

HEBRAIST AUTHORS AND THE MEDIATION OF JEWISH SCHOLARSHIP

When Martin Luther lectured on Genesis during the final decade of his life, he frequently sparred with Jewish commentators over the interpretation of particular passages. When discussing Cain's complaint to God that his sin was too great to bear (Gen 4:7), Luther attacked Moses Nahmanides' interpretation of the passage: "Gerondi has an excellent knowledge of the words (just as there are many today who far surpass me in their knowledge of the Hebrew language); but because he does not understand the [subject] matter, he distorts the passage with which we are dealing." Luther learned of Nahmanides' interpretation not by reading his Genesis commentary but by consulting Sebastian Münster's annotations on Genesis 4. Luther's exposure to the Jewish exegetical lore that he mentioned in his lectures came through reading a digest of Jewish Bible commentaries, selected and translated by a Christian Hebraist to aid others who were less capable in Hebrew or could not read it at all.¹

Münster's annotations are an important example of how Christian Hebraism served the wider Christian scholarly world during the Reformation era. The Christian Hebraist project involved appropriating new skills and information from Jewish texts to enrich Christian scholarship. Hebraists mediated the contents of Jewish books for Christian readers, judging what they thought was "useful" for them to know, and transmitting the information in an appropriate way through their books. They did not find all genres of Judaica equally useful, focusing on those such as biblical studies that were of greatest interest to Christians, while ignoring others such as Responsa literature that were not. The Hebraica books that these authors wrote, when analyzed as a whole, present a clear and at times surprising picture of what Christians considered useful Jewish knowledge, a picture that changed somewhat after 1560 because of the division of Europe into competing confessional churches. Christian Hebraists writing between 1561 and 1660 frequently produced Hebraica

¹ WA 42 194–195 = LW 1: 263–266 (Gen. 4:7).

books that reflected and furthered the interests of their churches, which could turn even non-religious scholarship into an arena of religious conflict.

In spite of the factors that limited the Christian encounter with Jewish texts during the Reformation era, the sheer volume of books produced by Hebraist authors and printed by Christian presses present a challenge to anyone seeking to understand the nature and extent of the transmission and filtering process. Using the subject categories developed by Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, I have organized a statistical profile of Christian Hebrew imprints from the pre-confessional period (1501–1560) and from 1561–1660, to scale these types of books from most commonly to least commonly produced. The Hebraica reading needs of early modern Jews and Christians were quite different, and these subject categories provide an explicit comparison between them.²

Christian Hebrew Imprints in the Preconfessional Period (1501–1560)

The output of Christian Hebrew imprints before 1560 falls largely into five categories: Grammars, dictionaries and concordances; Bibles and commentaries; Kabbalah; theological polemics; and liturgy. This division of works by genre alone, however, can be misleading. Christian Hebrew authors sought to understand one Jewish text more than any other: the Hebrew Bible. The overwhelming number of grammars, dictionaries, and Hebrew texts produced by Christian Hebraists supported this task. Even “liturgical” books were mostly collections of biblical prayers, excerpts from the Hebrew Bible, and therefore useful for teaching Hebrew. While there was a steady interest in Kabbalah, it was a subsidiary one. The small number of theological polemics produced before 1560 reflects the old *Adversus Judaeos* tradition of the Middle Ages. Given the sheer size of this corpus of Hebraist imprints we can only summarize the most important trends rather than discussing each of these books in detail.

The Hebrew language played a far different role among Christian readers than it did within the world of Judaism. For Jews Hebrew was not only a language of scholarship but more importantly it was the language of worship. Prayer books were the most commonly owned kind of Jewish book; Baruchson-Arbib noted that they were more than a third (34.7%)

² Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *La Culture Livresque des Juifs d'Italie à la Fin de la Renaissance*, Documents, Études et Répertoires 66, trans. Gabriel Roth (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2001), 53.

Table 3.1. Christian Hebrew titles printed in preconfessional era, 1501–1560

Genre	Number of Imprints	Percentage of Production
Grammars, Dictionaries and Concordances	286	51%
Bibles and Commentaries	203	36.2%
Kabbalah	23	4.1%
Polemic	16	2.8%
Liturgy	13	2.3%
Miscellaneous	10	1.8%
Philosophy	3	<1%
History	2	<1%
Science	2	<1%
Ethics	1	<1%
Halakah	1	<1%
Mishnah and Talmud	1	<1%
Literature	0	0
Midrash	0	0
Responsa	0	0
TOTAL	561	100%

of all books in Mantuan Jewish libraries.³ Jewish teachers routinely used them as elementary textbooks for educating young boys, in part because this was an extremely practical way to teach the prayers that their pupils needed to know to participate in synagogue worship.⁴ Christian students, by contrast, learned Hebrew the way that they learned ancient Greek, rather than as a liturgical or spoken language such as Latin. The overwhelming majority of grammar books and dictionaries written by Christians were intended to provide intellectual access to the Hebrew Bible. Knowing Hebrew was central to Jewish identity, but it was a linguistic skill for Christian scholars.

Over half of all Christian Hebraica produced before 1560 were grammar books, dictionaries or concordances. Although the most eye-catching

³ Ibid.

⁴ Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis. Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Bernard Dov Cooperman (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 156–58, 162–63.

achievements of Christian Hebraists such as Polyglot Bibles tend to attract scholarly attention more frequently than elementary language aids, the latter made any widespread discussion of Hebrew and Jewish texts possible among Christian scholars by enabling them to gain familiarity with the language.⁵ Breaking down these figures for grammars, dictionaries, and concordances still further, the vast majority of works written by Christian Hebraist scholars were intended for beginning students. Of the 221 Hebrew grammars printed by 1560, for example, 202 were written for beginning Hebrew students. Two of the most popular genres were the pamphlet sized “alphabet” printing (twenty-nine), and the very short introduction to Hebrew that first appeared as an appendix to Manutius’ *Rudimenta grammatices latinae linguae* (Venice, 1501), and was reprinted twenty-seven times by 1560. Of the twenty-one dictionaries printed in this period, fourteen were intended for beginning students. Reuchlin’s *De Rudimenta* (1506) conveniently included both a grammar and a dictionary.

Hebraist authors did not forget the needs of more advanced students and scholars either. Sebastian Münster’s *Opus Grammaticum Consummatum* (1542, 1544, 1549, 1556), and Theodore Bibliander’s *De optimo genere grammaticorum* (Basel, 1542) provided for their needs. Both Münster and Pagninus also produced Hebrew dictionaries that were based to some extent on Nathan b. Yehiel’s *Sefer Aruk* and provided guidance for Christian readers who wished to read not only Aramaic but also post-biblical Hebrew texts.⁶

Hebraist authors of grammars and dictionaries relied heavily upon Jewish books when composing their own works. Accordingly they often simply translated Jewish works into Latin. Johannes Reuchlin, Sanctes Pagninus, Agathius Guidacerius, and Ralph Baynes all translated David Kimhi’s *Michlol* grammar into Latin. Sebastian Münster made much of his reputation as a grammarian by translating all of Elias Levita’s Hebrew grammar books into Latin.⁷ Even when they were not translating Jewish works, Christian writers frequently quoted Kimhi, Levita and other Jewish writers as authorities.

⁵ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), xv pointed out that printers stayed in business by producing immense amounts of ephemeral publications. For printers who produced Christian Hebraica, Hebrew language aids were the functional equivalent of ephemera since they were apparently in high demand throughout the Reformation era. See above, chap. 1.

⁶ Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke (1492–1866)*, ed. Bernhard Prijs (Olten and Freiburg/Br: Urs Graf Verlag, 1964), 49.

⁷ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamt-bildes*, *Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft* 91 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963), 68–72.

The willingness of Christian Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers to trust Jewish writers left some of their readers uneasy, since Christians of all confessions believed that while the Jews understood their own language, they were incapable of understanding the most important parts of their scriptures, being both stubborn and blind to the truth of the Gospel. Johannes Forster was the only Christian Hebraist writer who sought complete independence from Jewish authorities in his notorious *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novvum* (1557). Over the course of his career, Forster had come to doubt the value of Jewish scholarship:

If there was one who squandered his abilities on the rabbis, who supported in his own house at his own cost a teacher, who often and long frequented their synagogues, and read their commentaries diligently, then it is Forster. ... And for all my efforts I gained nothing outstanding, nothing especially worthy of praise in return.⁸

Significantly, however, Forster continued to use the Targums to elucidate the meanings of words in his dictionary.⁹ His approach to Hebrew lexicography involved a heavy dose of theology rather than philology. When he discussed *yashar* (righteous) he referred not only to Habakkuk 2, but also to the book of Hebrews.¹⁰ If his work was sharply criticized by some Hebraists such as Jewish convert Johannes Isaac it found admirers among both Protestants and Catholics.¹¹ In 1607, Giovanni Maria Guanzelli (Brisinghella) published instructions on how to expurgate Forster's *Dictionarium* for Catholic use.¹²

There was also a certain interest in other Semitic languages, above all in Catholic circles, before 1560. Johannes Potken wrote the first sketch of Ethiopic (Ge'ez) in 1518, having learned the language in Rome.

⁸ "Si quis est, qui facultates suas in Rabinos profudit, qui in ipsorum synagogis longo tempore versatus est, qui domi propriis impensis ipsos preceptores aluit, qui ipsorum commentaria studiose evoluit, Forsterus est, & tamen ... nihil eximii, & quod singulari laude dignum esset, reportavi." Johannes Forster, *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum, Non ex Rabinorum Commentis, nec nostratium doctorum stulta imitatione descriptum, sed ex ipsis thesauris sacrorum Bibliorum & eorundem accurata locorum collatione depromptum, cum phrasibus scripturae Veteris & Novi Testamenti diligenter annotates* (Basel: H. Froben, 1557), fol. f. 5v.

⁹ See for example Forster's entries for root nos. 679 (*yasha'*, 'salvation') and 681 (*yashar*, to be righteous), *ibid.*, 358–360.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 359–360.

¹¹ See for example Johannes Habermann, *Liber Radicum seu Lexicon Ebraicum* (Wittenberg: Johannes Crato, 1568), (iiv–iiir (Hannover LB Sig. Lb 2201). Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1983), 173.

¹² *An Exact Reprint of the Roman Index expurgatorius. The only Vatican index of this kind ever published*, ed. Richard Gibbings (1608; reprint: Dublin: Milliken, 1837), 506–519.

Teseo Ambrosio's pioneering study of Syriac and other oriental languages, *Introductio in Chaldaicam linguam, Syriacam, atque Armenicam, et decem alias linguas* (Pavia, 1539) would be followed by the Syriac grammars of Angelo Canini and Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter. Gilbert Générard wrote the first introduction to reading medieval Hebrew in his *Eisagoge ... ad legenda Rabbiorum Commentaria* (Paris, 1559). Guillaume Postel produced his pioneering *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium Alphabetum Introductio* (Paris, 1538) in which he sketched twelve different Semitic Languages, including Hebrew. The books of Ambrosio, Canini, Potken, and Widmanstetter had their roots in Rome, with its ecclesiastical and diplomatic connections to the Near East.¹³ These books are also significant because after 1560 Christian Hebrew scholarship would make far greater use of comparisons between Hebrew and other Semitic languages such as Syriac in both grammars and dictionaries. While this development would not involve a repudiation of Jewish authorities, it would be a shift toward a distinctively different Christian approach to the analysis of Hebrew grammar and lexicography.

The interests of Christian Hebraists in cognate Semitic languages went beyond the utilitarian purposes of official Catholic policy. Robert Wilkinson noted the unusual but genuine connection of interest between the study of Arabic and Syriac, the Jewish mission, and Kabbalah that motivated both Guillaume Postel and Andreas Masius.¹⁴ While it is convenient to refer to these men as "Christian Hebraists," their interests were broader than Hebraica and Judaica. Printers of oriental languages frequently used Hebrew type not only for Aramaic books but also for Syriac and even Arabic ones, further identifying these languages, which are distinctly different from Hebrew.¹⁵ For some Christian scholars living during the Renaissance and Reformation eras the study of Hebrew necessarily involved the study of Aramaic, Syriac, post-biblical Hebrew, and Arabic as well, even though their interests were directed mostly toward Hebrew as a tool for biblical studies.

The figures for Bibles and biblical commentaries produced by Christian printers before 1560 (36.1%) and Baruchson-Arbib's figures for Jewish Bible ownership (22.4%) are broadly comparable, but in theological terms

¹³ Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 18–20, 27, 114–116.

¹⁴ Idem, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 39–41.

¹⁵ Ibid., and idem, "Immanuel Tremellius' 1569 Edition of the Syriac New Testament," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58/1 (2007): 9–25, here 16–19.

their significance could not have been more different.¹⁶ For Christians of the Reformation era the Bible was their primary authoritative text for resolving issues of faith and practice, while for Jews the Talmud and the Halakah were centrally important.¹⁷ Ironically, Christians of all confessions were completely reliant upon the work of Jewish scholars to establish an authoritative version of the received Hebrew Bible text during the early sixteenth century.

Jewish scholars were responsible for the creation of what would become the standard printed biblical text, one of the most important achievements in biblical studies of the entire Reformation era. The first Christian-sponsored attempt to create a Hebrew Bible text was the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17). All three of its editors, Pedro Coronel, Alfonso Zamora and Alonso de Alcalá, were Jewish converts, working under the patronage of Cardinal Jiménez. The Hebrew text of the Complutensian Bible, like the first and second Rabbinic Bibles, was based upon accurate Spanish biblical manuscripts. In keeping with the pedagogical goals of the project, however, the editors took liberties with certain elements of the biblical text. They simplified the vowel pointing by leaving out the composite *shewa*, and removed all of the accents except the *sof pasuq* and the *atnach*.¹⁸ Because so many copies of the Complutensian Bible were lost in a shipwreck, it became a rather rare work. It served as the base text for the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, and probably exercised its greatest influence on biblical scholarship in this manner.

Venetian Hebrew printer Daniel Bomberg was responsible for the creation of what amounted to the standardized Hebrew Bible text. He financed the editorial work of Jacob ben Hayyim, who edited the biblical text that was printed in the second Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1524–25).¹⁹ Jacob ben Hayyim's edited version of the Hebrew Bible with its vowel points, accents, and his painstakingly edited masoretic apparatus became the

¹⁶ Baruchson-Arbib, *Culture Livresque*, 53.

¹⁷ Baruchson-Arbib's statistics actually understate the importance of the Talmud for purposes of comparison, since the Mantua inventories reflect Jewish book ownership in the period after the great Talmud burnings in Italy when any Talmud discovered by the Roman Inquisition was subject to seizure and destruction.

¹⁸ The editors of the Complutensian New Testament similarly removed the Greek accents. Adrian Schenker, "Early Printings of the Bible," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Magne Saebø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 276–291, here 289.

¹⁹ David Stern, "The Rabbinic Bible in its Sixteenth Century Context" in: *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Adam Shear and Joseph Hacker (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 78–108.

standard for most complete Hebrew Bibles printed until the twentieth century.²⁰ It formed the base text not only for Robert Estienne's Hebrew Bible printings in Paris but also for Plantin's Hebrew Bibles in Antwerp, which were also widely reprinted.²¹

The Rabbinic Bibles of 1517 and 1524–5 provided not only the Hebrew Bible text to their readers but also several important interpretation aids. These Bibles included Targums–Aramaic paraphrases–for nearly every biblical book. Perhaps more importantly, they also included an important selection of Jewish Bible commentaries for each book of the Hebrew Bible. Perhaps the most eloquent tribute to the usefulness of this genre to Christians was Johannes Buxtorf's creation of a version of it suitable for theology students almost a century after it was first printed.²²

These commentaries became standard works that many Christian Hebraists used in their studies. Commentaries on shorter biblical books were frequently reprinted as textbooks.

Before 1560, there were relatively few trained and capable Christian Hebraists, but there were a growing number of Hebrew students. Hence it is no surprise that of the 204 imprints of Bibles and commentaries on the Hebrew Bible, the majority of these imprints were of individual biblical books or parts of the Bible.²³ Christian Hebrew presses produced only six printings of the entire Hebrew Bible²⁴ during this period: the

²⁰ For a description of the contents of the Second Rabbinic Bible, see Stephen G. Burnett, "The Strange Career of the Biblia Rabbinica among Christian Hebraists, 1517–1620," in: *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Matthew McLean and Bruce Gordon (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

²¹ Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries," in: *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 38–93, here 54. B. Pick provides a good discussion of some of the early Plantin Hebrew Bibles in "History of the Printed Editions of the Old Testament, together with a description of the Rabbinic and Polyglot Bibles," *Hebraica* 9, 1–2 (1892–23): 47–116, here 69–70.

²² Idem, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 172–189.

²³ A further 106 imprints contained printings of the biblical text, whether single biblical books (sixty) or selected passages (ten) to units of five or six books, including nine printings of the Pentateuch. The Psalms (thirty), one or more books of the Minor Prophets (seventeen), one or more the Megillot (Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, sixteen printings), and one or more of the other prophetic books (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, fourteen) were the most commonly reprinted works. One common feature in these printings of individual books is that shorter books were printed more often than longer ones, which probably reflects their use as textbooks in Hebrew classes.

²⁴ For statistical purposes I have counted the individual pieces of the Estienne Bibles below since they could only be assembled into complete Bibles at the very end of the

Table 3.2. Jewish Bible Commentaries in the 1517 and 1524–25 Rabbinic Bibles

Commentator	1517 Bible	1524–25 Bible
Rashi = R. Solomon b. Isaac	Pentateuch, Five Scrolls, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles	All books (except Proverbs, Job, Daniel)
David Kimhi	Former, Latter Prophets; Psalms	Former Prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel
David ibn Yahya, <i>Qab ve-Naqi</i>	Proverbs	
Moses Nahmanides	Job	
Abraham Farissol	Job	
Simeon Darshan	Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles	
Abraham ibn Ezra		All books (except Former prophets, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Chronicles)
Levi b. Gerson		Former Prophets, Proverbs, Job
Saadia Gaon		Daniel
Moses Kimhi		Proverbs, Ezra

Complutensian Bible (1514–17), three by Sebastian Münster in Basel (1534–35, 1536, 1546),²⁵ and two by Robert Estienne in Paris (1539–44, 1543–46). Estienne's Bible printings were produced over a period of years and appeared in sixteen different parts for the decimo-sexto (16°) printing (1543–46), and in four parts for the quarto imprint (1539–44). Estienne anticipated that many of his customers would purchase only parts of the Bible, perhaps only a single biblical book, and they were sold separately, as a number of surviving copies in libraries throughout the world attest.²⁶

printing process. Since five of the six volumes of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible contain Hebrew, I have reckoned the number of printed volumes that went into complete Bibles as eight volumes.

²⁵ Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drucke*, nos. 38, 47, 73.

²⁶ Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hébreu à Paris au xvie siècle. Inventaire chronologique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004), 35–37.

As another indication of how important Rabbinic Bibles were as a resource for Christian biblical studies, Christian presses produced sixteen imprints of Jewish Bible commentaries that were printed in the first or second Rabbinic Bible. Robert Estienne produced eleven imprints of selected Minor Prophets containing both the biblical text and David Kimhi's commentary (usually without Latin translation) for more advanced Hebrew students.²⁷ Sebastian Münster and Paul Fagius also published combined printings of biblical books with David Kimhi's commentary. Fagius not only printed the entire text of David Kimhi's stridently polemical Psalms commentary, but he also translated Psalms 1–10 into Latin and printed them separately for the use of students.²⁸ These short texts were used for instruction in commentary Hebrew to make it possible for students to read other Jewish Bible commentaries on their own.²⁹

While biblical commentaries (seventy-eight total) incorporating the new Hebrew scholarship was not a uniquely Protestant genre, most of such commentaries (thirty-three of fifty-five) were written by Protestant authors.³⁰ Johannes Oecolampadius produced by far and away the most (eighteen printings), followed distantly by Martin Bucer's Psalms commentary (four printings) and commentaries by Wolfgang Capito and Martin Borrhaus (three titles each). Curiously, Jan van den Campen, a Catholic Hebraist, adapted some of Zwingli's comments on the Psalms and printed them under his own name (eight printings). While these new commentaries were eagerly read and studied by Protestants and Catholics alike, they also served as a means of confessional differentiation. While the Wittenbergers eagerly read Old Testament commentaries written by Bucer and Oecolampadius for their linguistic comment, they were often critical of the interpretations that the latter offered of particular biblical passages for doctrinal reasons.³¹

²⁷ Ibid., nos 88–92, 99–105. Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *L'Hébreu dans le Livre à Genève au XVI^e siècle* (Genève: Droz, 2011), no. 21.

²⁸ VD 16 B1541, B3858, D316, ZV 1634.

²⁹ Peter T. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 114–118.

³⁰ A further six imprints involved Jerome's *Opera omnia*. Beginning with Erasmus' new edition in Basel, these often incorporated a substantial amount of Hebrew, but they were older commentaries, not new ones. See Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drucke*, nos. 10, 52, 89, 115; Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 183, 368).

³¹ Stephen G. Burnett, "Reassessing the 'Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discussion of Hebrew Scholarship,'" in: *Hebraica Veritas? Christian*

A few biblical works discuss the integrity of the received biblical text. Since the Protestant theological principal of *sola scriptura* presupposed that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was both authoritative and perspicuous, Catholic polemicists frequently denied that it was either. Before 1560, however, the issues were discussed within the context of biblical humanism rather than as a feature of confessional conflict. Edward Lee wrote a blistering critique of Erasmus' biblical humanism in *Sunt in hoc volumine Apologia ... contra quorundam calumnias* (Paris, 1520). Agostino Steucho defended the integrity of the Vulgate text in his two massive works on Old Testament interpretation, *Recognitio Veteris Testamenti ad Hebraicam Veritatem* (1529) and *Veteris Testamenti ad veritatem Hebraicam Recognito* (1531).³² Robert Wakefield upheld the integrity of the received Hebrew text in *Syntagma de Hebraeorum codicum incorruptione* (Oxford, 1530). Wilhelm Lindanus was the first Catholic polemicist to attack the integrity of the Hebrew Bible text as a way of undermining Protestantism, since he believed that Jews had altered the original text in places.³³ Yet the work provoked its most important response from another Catholic, Johannes Isaac, Professor of Hebrew at the University of Cologne.³⁴

Over the past generation a good deal has been written concerning the significance of Christian Kabbalah during the Renaissance. François Secret and Frances Yates made extravagant claims for the importance of kabbalistic study to intellectual history. In part they were responding to Joseph Blau's still important work *Christian Cabala* (1944), which characterized Christian Kabbalism as a mere "intellectual fad."³⁵ Most recently

Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulsen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 181–201, here 188–190.

³² Ronald K. Delph, "Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steucho's Quarrel with Erasmus," in: *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 297–318.

³³ Wilhelm Lindanus, *De optimo scripturas interpretandi genere, Libri III* (Cologne, 1558). On Lindanus and his book, see Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517–1550*, 4 vols. (1955; Reprint: Nendeln: Kraus Reprints, 1980), 4: 378–399.

³⁴ Johann Isaac, *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicae Sacrarum Scripturarum, adversus Libros tres Reveren. D. Vuilhelmi Lindani S.T. Doctoris, quos de optimo Scripturas interpretandi genere inscripsit* (Cologne, 1559). See De Vocht, *History of the Foundation*, 4: 299–306.

³⁵ Philip Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 100–101. See especially François Secret, *Les kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris: Dunod, 1964); and Frances Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (1979; reprinted: New York: Routledge Classics, 2001).

Moshe Idel provided both definitional clarity and a synthetic treatment of this issue in *Kabbalah in Italy* (2011).³⁶ Some scholars questioned whether Christian Kabbalah should even be discussed in the same context as Jewish Kabbalah, and whether it is in any sense “authentic” when compared with the latter.³⁷ Idel sought to clarify the question by identifying which elements of Jewish Kabbalah did not transfer to the Christian version, such as its theurgic nature and its connection with observing Jewish law, and which aspects Christians did appropriate, such as speculation on the Tetragrammaton and hermeneutical techniques.³⁸ The present discussion focuses on the role of Christian Hebraists in mediating Jewish kabbalistic texts through their printed books. Since only twenty-three works of Christian Kabbalah printed before 1560 used substantial amounts of Hebrew type it is possible to draw some important conclusions about their role in transmitting Jewish kabbalistic lore.³⁹

Most of these books were written by or in response to four Christian Kabbalist authors: Johannes Reuchlin (1454–1522), Paul Ricius (d. 1541), Francesco Giorgio (1460–1540), and Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). Reuchlin’s two kabbalistic books, *De Verbo mirifico* (1532, 1552) and *De arte Cabalistica* (1517, 1530, 1557), were printed or reprinted five times before 1560. Petrus Galatinus’ *Opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (1518, 1550), written as a defense of Reuchlin, was printed twice. Francesco Giorgio [Zorzi] of Venice was probably the best read of the Christian Kabbalist authors active before 1560. He apparently owned a substantial Hebraica library and had access to Cardinal Grimani’s Hebrew manuscript collection in the S. Antonio di Castello monastery of Venice.⁴⁰ He also owed a certain intellectual debt to Reuchlin, since his bibliography of kabbalistic sources in *De harmonia mundi* (1525) was identical to

³⁶ Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy, 1280–1510* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

³⁷ Christopher I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels. Cornelius Agrippa’s Occult Philosophy* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 154–159.

³⁸ Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 230–233.

³⁹ Scholem lists twenty-three imprints before 1560, but he includes six books that contain no Hebrew type, including some of Paulus Ricius’s books, Jacob Hoogstraten’s *Destructio cabale* (1519) and *Opusculum Raymundinum de Auditu Kabbalistico* (1518). Gershom Scholem, *Bibliographia Kabbalistica* (Berlin: Schocken, 1933), nos. 38, 531, 941, and p. 128. Beitchman adds another nine Christian Kabbalist authors active before 1560: Symphorien Champier, Federicus Chysogrus, Giovanni Battista Elisio, Francesco Giorgio, Finus Hadrianus, Lodovico Lazzarelli, Niccolo Peranzone, Caspar Peucer, and Gerard Veltwyck. Only the books by Giorgio and Veltwyck contain any Hebrew type. Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word*, 117–123, 133, 169–171, 187–192.

⁴⁰ On the Grimani library, see below, chap. 4.

Reuchlin's in *De arte Cabalistica*.⁴¹ Giorgio wrote two kabbalistic works that appeared in print: *De harmonia mundi* (1525, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547) and *In scripturam sacram problemata* (1536). Heinrich Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De occulta philosophia* (1531, 1533, 1541, 1550) was largely derivative from Giorgio's works where kabbalistic information was concerned.⁴² Giorgio's student Archangelo de Borghonovo not only studied with his master and published a kabbalistic book of his own, *Dechiaratione sopra il nome di Gesu secondo gli ebrei Cabalisti* (1557), but he would later publish Giorgio's commentary on Pico's kabbalistic theses under his own name in 1569.⁴³

Paul Ricius and Guillaume Postel are important in part because they published Latin translations of Jewish kabbalistic texts. Ricius was a Jewish convert who became a rather successful physician, serving for a time in the court of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. Ricius made an abridged translation of Joseph Gikatilia's *Porta lucis [Sha'are orah]* (1516), and he also wrote a much more extensive kabbalistic work, *De coelesti agricultura* (1541).⁴⁴ Guillaume Postel, whose literary career lasted almost until his death in 1580, published two kabbalistic works by 1560, his translation of *Sefer Yezirah*, *Abrahami Patriarchae Liber Iezira* (Paris, 1552), and *Candelabri Typici in Mosis Tabernaculo* (Venice, 1548). Postel was unable to persuade the Basel printer Oporinus to publish his Latin translation of the *Zohar* in 1553.⁴⁵

Only a small number Christian Kabbalists were active before 1560 because of a series of unavoidable barriers. Few Christian Hebraists (and relatively few Jews for that matter) had the training necessary to read kabbalistic texts. Idel reminds us that "Until the end of the fifteenth century, Jewish Kabbalah was considered by Jews themselves to be an esoteric

⁴¹ Giulio Busi, "Francesco Zorzi: A Methodical Dreamer," in: *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and their Christian Interpreters*, ed. Joseph Dan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997), 97–125, here 100.

⁴² Erika Rummel, "Humanists, Jews, and Judaism," in: *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth Century Germany*, ed. Dean P. Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 3–31, here 17 and n. 44.

⁴³ Busi, "Francesco Zorzi," 99–100, 188–19, n. 15.

⁴⁴ Bernd Roling, "Prinzip, Intellekt und Allegorese im Werk des Christlichen Kabbalisten Paolo Ricci (Gest. 1541)," in: *An der Schwelle der Moderne. Juden in der Renaissance*, ed. Giuseppe Veltri and Annette Winkelmann (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 155–187, here 156–157. See VD 16 J954 and ZV 13263.

⁴⁵ Marion L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 85–86, 111–113. On his translation of *Sefer Yetsirah*, see Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, no. 222.

lore; conceived to be the core of Judaism, it was to be transmitted only to a few initiates both in manuscripts and orally.⁴⁶ Jewish tutoring was desirable, if not essential for Christians to advance in their understanding of such difficult texts. Even assuming a Christian Hebraist had the linguistic skill to read and understand kabbalistic books, few of them had ready access to these materials. Some Christian Kabbalists were able to borrow manuscripts from Jews, while others such as Andreas Masius sought to purchase their own copies.⁴⁷ Printer Daniel Bomberg's role in facilitating Christian access to kabbalistic texts has not been fully studied, but he apparently owned copies of eleven kabbalistic texts in 1547.⁴⁸ During the early to mid-sixteenth century the S. Antonio di Castello monastery of Venice had the most accessible collection of kabbalistic manuscripts in Europe, before its contents were largely stolen or sold to collectors. Egidio di Viterbo's collection, which he made available for other scholars to consult, was lost during the Sack of Rome in 1527, and the rest of his library was dispersed at his death in 1532. Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter's collection was preserved after his death in 1558, but it was housed in the Bavarian ducal library. Outside of Venice, only well-connected Catholic scholars, not the idly curious, would have had ready access to large collections of Kabbalistic manuscripts or books before 1560. The extensive attention that Secret and Yates, among others, devoted to Reuchlin, Giorgio, Postel, and Ricius appears to be justified, since they were the principal figures in the public discussion of Kabbalah who utilized Jewish sources, rather than Christian kabbalistic works, as the starting point for their work.

Among polemical books, anti-Jewish polemics (eight books) strongly reflect models and forms used by medieval Christian polemicists. Four of these works were written by Jewish converts to convince their brethren to convert as well. They included open letters to Jews written by

⁴⁶ Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 228–229.

⁴⁷ Eric Zimmer, "Jewish and Christian Collaboration in Sixteenth Century Germany," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 71 (1980): 69–78. See Cornelius Adelkind to Andreas Masius, Venice, 11 June 1547, translated by David Amram in *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (1963; reprint: London: Holland Press, 1988), 211–213.

⁴⁸ Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books*, 212–213. Adelkind added that "there are others here among the Jews which can be borrowed for copying." Jordan S. Penkower noted that as early as 1523 Bomberg expressed sympathy for kabbalistic learning in his introduction to Abraham Balmes' *Mikneh Abram*. He wrote that he wanted to "publish kabbalistic books, which are important to every Christian." Jordan S. Penkower, "Jacob Ben Hayyim and the Rise of the Biblia Rabbinica," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1982) [Hebrew], English summary, VI.

Juan Andres and Louis Carretus and a polemical book written by Gerhard Veltwyck.⁴⁹ The other four works represent early sixteenth century expressions of medieval genres and sources. They include a reprinting of Vittore Porschetto Salvago, *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos* (Paris, 1520), the two editions of Sebastian Münster's disputation of a Christian with a Jew (1529, 1539), and Paul Fagius' printing of *Sefer Emunah* (1542), a Hebrew language reworking of polemical arguments that were frequently used in the later Middle Ages in works such as *Pugio fidei*.⁵⁰

Sebastian Münster and Jean Mercier also published Jewish Hebrew translations of the Gospel of Matthew, which had a polemical purpose. These were originally Jewish translations, intended for use in polemics against Christians. In an effort to turn the tables, Münster reprinted the book with an extensive Hebrew introduction to the Christian faith.⁵¹ Mercier printed not only the Hebrew Matthew, copied from a manuscript found in the Jewish quarter in Rome, but also a series of sharp, polemical questions written at the end of the book by a Jewish reader. Calvin would later write a polemical series of answers to these "questions proposed by an anonymous Jew." By reprinting Jewish polemical comments, both Münster and Mercier were passing on incendiary remarks that could and did provoke Jew hatred among Christian readers.⁵²

Christian Hebraist authors who were active before 1560 employed a variety of means to transmit Jewish scholarship to their less educated readers. Frequently they translated books into Latin, especially Hebrew grammars and dictionaries. They also repackaged and reprinted a number of texts, particularly the Hebrew Bible and Jewish Bible commentaries. The large number of individual biblical books that they edited and also the printings of Jewish Bible commentaries for individual biblical books underscores not only Christian interest in the Bible but also the steadily increasing number of beginning Hebrew students, together

⁴⁹ Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, no. 216 (Andres), nos. 223, 228 (Carretus), and Gerard Veltwyck, *Itinera Deserti* (Venice: Bomberg, 1539).

⁵⁰ Stephen G. Burnett, "Dialogue of the Deaf: Hebrew Pedagogy and Anti-Jewish Polemic in Sebastian Münster's *Messiahs of the Christians and the Jews* (1529/39)." *Archive for Reformation History* 91 (2000): 168–190.

⁵¹ Idem, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 212, 237; Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drucke*, nos. 48, 99.

⁵² Stephen G. Burnett, "Spokesmen for Judaism: Medieval Jewish Polemicists and their Christian Readers in the Reformation Era," in: *Reuchlin und seine Erben*, ed. Peter Schaefer and I. Wandrey, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 11 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2005), 41–51, here 49–50.

with some at the intermediate level who aspired to read Jewish commentaries for themselves. Many Hebraist authors excerpted Jewish authors or quoted them as authorities as Sebastian Münster did in his biblical annotations, and as Reuchlin and Giorgio did in their kabbalistic works. What is striking about the period before 1560, however, is the sheer amount of direct transfer of Jewish texts rather than their absorption into Christian scholarship, and the willingness of Christian Hebraists to acknowledge the expertise of Jewish authorities. It is no wonder that some, such as Forster, expressed reservations about this willingness.

Christian Hebraist Imprints in the Confessional Age (1561–1660)

Christian Hebraist authors pursued somewhat broader interests in the century of confessional conflict after 1560, but the profile of their printed works largely reflects the earlier period. Over 80% of all Christian Hebrew imprints fell into the categories of Grammars, Dictionaries and Concordances or Bibles and Commentaries. To the familiar categories of liturgy, Kabbalah, and polemics, Christian Hebraists also wrote a few books involving Jewish history, Halakah and ethics. A handful of authors also published Hebrew-related works in more specialized fields such as science and philosophy.

Christian imprints in the fields of Hebrew Grammar, Dictionaries, and Concordances reflect continued growth both in the number of beginning students who wished to learn Hebrew and a sustained need for books to support the work of experts. It also reflected the intellectual preoccupation of early modern linguists with comparing and categorizing all languages. A large variety of Hebrew grammars were produced for scholars at every stage of Hebrew learning. Beginning grammars accounted for 75% of all grammar printings, and Protestant scholars dominated the field (236 of 321 imprints). Lutheran authors were responsible for 45% of these grammars (145 out of 321), a testimony to the secure home that Hebrew learning had found within the Lutheran world of learning. Protestant writers similarly dominated the field of intermediate-level Hebrew grammars, producing 80% of them (twenty-eight of thirty-five), and of grammars of oriental languages (fifty of fifty-eight).

Johannes Buxtorf the elder was arguably the most important Christian grammarian of Hebrew in his own day and for more than a century afterward. He produced an array of grammars for use in schools, universities,

Table 3.3. Christian Hebrew titles printed in confessional era, 1561–1660

Genre	Number of Imprints	Percentage of Production
Grammars, Dictionaries and Concordances	706	48.5%
Bibles and Commentaries	462	31.7%
Liturgy	78	5.4%
Kabbalah	46	3.2%
History	44	3.0%
Polemics	33	2.3%
Halakah	20	1.4%
Bibliography	15	1%
Miscellaneous	15	1%
Mishnah and Talmud	15	1%
Ethics	12	<1%
Philosophy	4	<1%
Science	3	<1%
Midrash	2	<1%
Literature	0	0
Responsa	0	0
TOTAL	1455	100%

and by experts. His *Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraicae* (1609) was not the first grammar book to provide syntactical analysis of Hebrew, but it effectively replaced its competitors. Similarly, Sebastian Münster and Johannes Drusius, among others, wrote substantial grammars of Aramaic, but Buxtorf's *Grammaticae Chaldaicae et Syriacae* (1615) came to replace them as well. Buxtorf's reputation was most firmly established, however, not by his grammatical works, but by his famous Talmudic lexicon.

The writing and printing of dictionaries reflect strong sustained growth in the number of scholars pursuing Hebrew studies after 1560. Of the 151 Hebrew dictionaries produced during these years, forty-two of them were intended for beginners, as were a further forty-three more basic glossaries. More advanced scholars could use reference dictionaries or perhaps one of the twelve dictionaries that incorporated other oriental languages. The reference dictionaries included Catholic Marcus Marinus' *Arca Noe*

(1593), and three printings of Pagninus' *Thesaurus linguae Sanctae* with annotations by Jean Mercier (1575, 1577, 1614).⁵³

The comparative Semitic dictionaries reflect the most important development in the Christian study of Hebrew during the Reformation era: the increasing study of other Semitic languages and comparisons of them to Hebrew. At one level all Hebrew lexicography is to some degree comparative, since the Aramaic Targums had been an obvious source of information and clarification for Jewish students of the Bible. Jewish linguistic scholarship also acknowledged the importance of Arabic for linguistic comparisons, reflecting the origins of Jewish linguistic scholarship in medieval Spain. Yet Christian scholars extended these linguistic comparisons still further through their study of both Syriac and Arabic. The Aramaic and Syriac dictionaries of Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie, *Dictionarium Syro-Chaldaicum* (1573), Christoph Crinesius, *Lexicon Syriacum* (1612), and the younger Buxtorf's *Lexicon chaldaicum et syriacum* (1622), all reflect this trend, as does Valentin Schindler's massive *Lexicon Pentaglotton* (1612).⁵⁴ Schindler's work was particularly important because it was the first attempt to produce a universal Semitic reference dictionary that provided information on biblical Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew, targumic and Talmudic Aramaic and even Arabic. While these works were intended to serve as keys to unlock the treasures of a very different literary tradition, the two Arabic dictionaries of Franz Raphelengius and Jacob Golius each made substantial use of Hebrew in their philological discussions of Arabic words, since Hebrew was the Semitic language that most of their readers were likely to know already, and there were such obvious parallels between the two languages.⁵⁵

Buxtorf's Talmudic lexicon grew out of Jewish lexicographical traditions, but it became one of the landmark works of Christian Hebraism. In 1609, when Buxtorf began writing his Talmudic dictionary, there were almost no lexicons of post-biblical Hebrew or Aramaic available to Christian Hebraists. The dictionaries of Sebastian Münster and Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie were both out of print. Buxtorf himself used David de

⁵³ Schwarzfuchs, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais*, nos. 136, 139.

⁵⁴ Valentin Schindler, *Lexicon pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (Hanau: Henne, 1612); idem, *Epitome Lexici hebraici, syriaci, rabbinici, & arabici*, ed. G. Alabaster and Herbert Thorndike (London: Jones, 1635), reprinted in 1637; idem, *Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Talmudico-Rabbinicum, & Arabicum* (Frankfurt/Main: Humm, 1653).

⁵⁵ Franciscus Raphelengius, *Lexicon Arabicum* (Leiden: Raphelengius, 1613), and Jacob Golius, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1653).

Pomis' *Zemach David* (1591), but he found it very incomplete and filled the margins with his own notes. Nathan ben Yehiel's *Sefer Aruk* was far too difficult for most Christian Hebraists to use, and so Buxtorf took upon himself the task of preparing a reference dictionary.⁵⁶ When the elder Buxtorf died in 1629, Johannes Buxtorf the younger took charge of the lexicon, devoting a further ten years to editing, revising, and augmenting the enormous manuscript. The work was finally published in 1639–40, to immediate and lasting critical acclaim. Constantine L'Empereur wrote to James Ussher that it was “[a] work which is truly worthy of eternity. If a large number of translated texts from the Talmud were further to be added to it as a manual, we should finally be able to penetrate everywhere into it without the aid of the Jews.”⁵⁷ For almost two hundred years Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* was the standard work in the field of post-biblical Hebrew lexicography for non-Jews, and remained quite serviceable until well into the nineteenth century when its deficiencies became more apparent.

Curiously, another sort of dictionary was produced in even greater volume (eighty-nine printings) than dictionaries for Hebrew students or experts: multi-lingual dictionaries that contained some Hebrew. The most commonly reprinted example of such a book is Ambrosius Calepinus' *Dictionarium*. It first appeared with Hebrew as one of its languages in 1570, and it was reprinted forty-four times thereafter. It enjoyed a wide cross-confessional readership, for it was printed fourteen times in Venice, twelve times in Lyon, seven times in Paris, six times in Basel, and five in Geneva.⁵⁸ John Minsheu's four ambitious multilingual dictionaries reflect the same trend.⁵⁹ The various printings of Lutheran schoolmaster Heinrich Decimator's *Sylva Vocabulorum* (fifteen printings) and his *Thesaurus Linguarum* (four printings) that appeared between 1586 and 1620, together with Elias Hutter's *Dictionarium Harmonicum Biblicum* (1598) demonstrate that Lutheran authors were just as interested in comparative dictionaries as Catholic and Reformed scholars were. Etymological dictionaries also incorporated the new Hebrew scholarship, as the works of Hilfreich

⁵⁶ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 128–129.

⁵⁷ Constantine L'Empereur to James Ussher, n. p., 1 March 1641, Leiden UB Ms. Thysiana 164, 6, quoted in Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies*, 183.

⁵⁸ Albert Labarre, *Bibliographie du dictionarium d'Ambrogio Calepino (1502–1779)*, Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana 26 (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1975).

⁵⁹ STC nos. 17944–17947.

Emmel, Jan Fongers, and Andreas Helvigius attest.⁶⁰ Georg Pasor's dictionaries of New Testament Greek also contain a section with etymological discussion that incorporates Hebrew.⁶¹

Christian Hebraists also produced a number of essays and manuals that addressed both theoretical and practical questions related to Hebrew grammar and lexicography after 1560. They wrote studies that addressed various aspects of Hebrew as a language, including its system of accents, vowel points, the metrics of poetry or vowel letters.⁶² The etymology of Hebrew words was another popular topic, as were speculative histories of language.⁶³ Other essays covered a wide variety of themes, including comparative Semitics, the meaning of the divine names in the Bible, the purported relationship of Hebrew to Danish runes, and the nature of the Samaritan Hebrew.⁶⁴

The Hebrew manuals that were printed after 1560 were designed to help students sharpen their Hebrew skills, and most of them were written by Lutheran Hebraists (twenty-four of thirty-five imprints). Johannes Clajus's enormously popular *Prosodiae ... De Cognoscenda Syllabarum quantitate & carminum ratione apud Latinos, Graecos, & Hebraeos*, first printed in 1570 and reprinted seventeen times by 1620, provided an explanation of the meters of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew poetry. Fellow Lutherans Hieronymus Avianus and Jacob Ebert wrote manuals for Hebrew poetry.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Hilfreich Emmel, *Sylva quinquelingvis Vocabulorum et phrasium Germanicae, Latinae, Graecae, Hebraicae, Gallicae linguae* (Strasbourg: König, 1593); Jan Fongers, *Etymologicum trilingue ex libris sacris & aliis probatissimis scriptoribus collectum* (Lyon: Horsy, 1607); Andreas Helvigius, *Origines Dictionum Germanicorum ex tribus illis nobilibus antiquatis eruditae Linguis Latina, Graeca, Hebraea* (Hanau: Eifridi, 1620).

⁶¹ *Etyma Nominum Propriorum etemq[ue] Analysis Hebraeorum, Syriacorum, & Latinorum vocabulorum, quae in novo Testamento uspiam occurrunt*, printed in his *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* (Herborn: n. p., 1621) and many reprints.

⁶² Accents: Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, no. 309, VD 16 S2914, VD 17: 1:058072U and 17 32:67492X, FFM no. 11, 37; STC no. 23602; Vowel points: Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 282; Meter: Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 272, 274; and VD 17 3:013798F; Vowel letters: VD 16 R1126.

⁶³ Etymology: Jan Fongers, *Etymologicum trilingue ex libris sacris* (Lyon: Horsy, 1607); Etienne Guichard, *L'harmonie etymologique des langues hebraïque, chaldaïque ...* (Paris: Le Noir, 1606; reprinted there in 1618, 1619); VD 17 23:290224V and 12:130523G. History of Languages: Claude Duret, *Thresor de l'histoire des langues* (Cologne: Berjon, 1613; reprinted: Yverdon: Société helvétique caldoreque, 1619).

⁶⁴ Comparative Semitics: Brian Walton, *Dissertatio in qua de linguis orientalibus differitur* (Deventer: Colomp, 1658), Wing no. B2092, C801; VD 17 14:053983L; Divine names: FFM nos. 97, 99; Danish runes: Ole Worm, *Runer seu Danica literature antiquissima* (Amsterdam: Martzan, 1636; reprinted: Copenhagen: Holst, 1651); Samaritan Hebrew: VD 17 14:053983L.

⁶⁵ See, for example, VD 16 C3991, C 4000, ZV 3661; VD17: 23:279147H, 23:279158X, 23:279163, 12:628095H, 23:279168D, 23:279211Y.

These guides to composing Hebrew poetry were no doubt helpful for those Lutheran writers who produced a substantial amount of Hebrew verse during the early modern period.⁶⁶ Johannes Buxtorf's manuals on Hebrew prose composition (three printings) provided guidance both for those who sought to write Hebrew letters as a mark of humanist achievement or, more practically, who wished to correspond with Jews.⁶⁷ Georg Weigenmeier and Franciscus Donatus wrote guides to Hebrew abbreviations, as did Buxtorf himself.⁶⁸

The sheer number and variety of titles related to Hebrew grammar, dictionaries, essays and manuals that were printed after 1560 cannot fail to impress, for they provide tangible evidence of the place that Hebrew had found within the Christian world of learning during the Reformation era. These works included not only tools to provide intellectual access to the Bible and other Jewish texts, but also manuals to teach advanced Hebrew skills such as composing poetry and prose and a number of studies that sought to situate Hebrew within the plethora of world languages. The admittedly patchy and sometimes laughable attempts made by Christian Hebraists to compose fluent Hebrew verse should be understood as efforts to make Hebrew a fully Christian language. Scholars wrote Hebrew verse for academic ceremonies, to honor colleagues in the prefaces of books, and to praise princes and their families.⁶⁹ When Christian authors wrote Hebrew verse to mark these occasions, they were not only demonstrating their skill but also laying claim to Hebrew as a Christian learned tongue.

The direct influence of Jewish writers on Christian linguistic studies is somewhat less apparent after 1560, but is clearly present in the details of their work. The discussions of Hebrew verse offered by G  n  brard and Buxtorf were shaped by Solomon b. Jacob Almoli's book on Hebrew poetry, translated by G  n  brard.⁷⁰ Buxtorf himself edited and printed two

⁶⁶ Hartmut Bobzin, "Philologendichtung. Seltene Einblattdrucke aus der ehemaligen Universit  tsbibliothek Altdorf," *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 24 (1996): 134–147.

⁶⁷ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, 136–144.

⁶⁸ Georg Weigenmeier, *Tractatus continens et explicans Abbreviaturas omnes, quotquot ipse autor ex plurima commentariorum Heb. lectione observare potuit* (T  bingen: Cellius, 1604), and Franciscus Donatus, *Poma aurea* (Rome: Paulinus, 1618).

⁶⁹ This material has never been systematically studied. Provisionally, see Hartmut Bobzin, "Philologendichtung," 134–147 on Lutheran poetry and Schwarzfuchs, *L'H  breu dans le Livre    Gen  ve*, 77–90 for several Genevan examples with French translation. Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause's *Planta vitis seu Thesaurus synonymicus hebraico-chaldaico-rabbinicus* (Lod  ve: Colomerius, 1644) [introductory pages unfoliated] contains a large number of Hebrew poems by both Jews and Christians honoring his monumental work in its introduction.

⁷⁰ Gilbert G  n  brard, *R. Davidis Iehaia De Poetica Hebraeorum* (Paris: Morel, 1563).

books on Hebrew composition for advanced Hebrew students that were initially written for Jewish students. Buxtorf's most important achievement as a Hebraist was to compose his *Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Basel, 1639–40). The work incorporates a good deal of Nathan b. Yehiel's *Sefer Aruk*, but completely reorganized it by root, and Buxtorf augmented his entries with a good deal of new information.⁷¹ The linguistic works of authors such as David Kimhi and Elias Levita continued to be widely cited as authorities in Christian works. Lutheran Hebraist Friedrich Blankenburg claimed that he used fifty-eight sources to compose his *Grammatica Linguae Sanctae* (1625), including among his authorities Abraham de Balmes, David and Moses Kimhi, Elias Levita, and Immanuel of Rome.⁷²

Christian Hebrew printings of Hebrew Bibles, parts of the Hebrew Bible, and biblical commentaries grew in volume from 203 imprints before 1560 to 462 between 1561–1660. The most impressive achievements of Christian editors and printers were the sixteen polyglot Bibles of various sizes, appearing in fifty volumes. These ranged from rather modest printings of the Hebrew Bible with facing Latin text⁷³ to updated printings of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, containing Greek, Hebrew, and Latin translations,⁷⁴ and to the three great Polyglot Bibles that were of greatest importance for scholarship: the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglot Bibles with some variations in between. Each of these Bibles contained not only the requisite three texts (Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Vulgate or other Latin translation), but also an increasing number of early translations including the Peshitta version (Syriac) (present in all three), and Arabic versions (Paris and London). The Paris and London Polyglots also printed the Samaritan Pentateuch, an early Hebrew recension of the Pentateuch, rejected by Jews as corrupted but which in places agreed with the Septuagint against the received Masoretic text. The Hutter Polyglot Bible of 1599, printed in ten different volumes, included only the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, but it stands out because it included

⁷¹ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 128–130, 137.

⁷² Friedrich Blankenburg, *Grammatica Linguae Sanctae per Quaestiones et Responsiones plana & facili Methodo in gratiam, & usum tyronum composita, & proposita in Academia Argentoratensi* (Strasbourg: Scher, 1625), fols. A7r–A8v.

⁷³ *Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina interpretatio, opera olim Xantis Pagnini Lucensis: nunc vero Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispalensis, Francisci Raphelengii Alnetani, Guidonis & Nicolai Fabriciorum Boderianorum fratrum collato studio* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1572); reprinted in Antwerp, 1584; then in Geneva, 1609 and 1617.

⁷⁴ *Sacra Biblia, Hebraice, Graece, et Latine, cum annotationibus Francisci Vatabli* ([Geneva]: Sanctandrea, 1586, 1587); reprinted in Geneva, 1599.

not only the usual biblical versions (Hebrew, Greek, Latin), but also a series of modern language translations, including Czech, Danish, English, German, French, Italian, Polish, Slovenian, and Spanish.⁷⁵

Buxtorf's edition of the *Biblia rabbinica* (1618–1619) should also be included among these Polyglot Bibles not because it contained the same selection of biblical versions, but because it was an extremely complicated work to produce and it represented a similar printing achievement to at least some of these Polyglot Bibles.⁷⁶ By Buxtorf's time Rabbinic Bibles had become rather rare, since there were only three printings of Bomberg's definitive Second Rabbinic Bible (1525, 1548, and 1568). In his appeal to the Basel city council Buxtorf expressed his concern that students should be able to purchase their own copies of the rabbinical Bible. The council gave him permission to reprint the work, and Buxtorf devoted three years to the task, creating a unique version of the work by adding Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentaries on Isaiah and the minor prophets as well as Targum Yerushalmi to the Pentateuch. Buxtorf's adoption and adaptation of this important Jewish Bible underscores its importance to Christian Hebraists for their studies. While the Christian Daniel Bomberg, with the willing cooperation of his editors Felix Praetensis and Jacob ben Hayyim, created the genre to begin with, Buxtorf adapted it further for Christian use. His extensive work on the masoretic apparatus for the Bible, while not of interest to many Christian Hebraists, supported his own study of the age and authenticity of the Hebrew Bible text.⁷⁷

A few Christian scholars and presses also became involved in producing complete Hebrew Bibles. Although not as complicated to produce as Polyglot Bibles, complete Hebrew Bibles were themselves a technical challenge to print and could be very difficult to market. Christopher Plantin produced more of these Bibles than any other producer (six imprints in eleven volumes), but he was followed closely by Rouviere of Geneva (three printings in twenty-one volumes), and the Hartmann press of Frankfurt/Oder (three imprints in seven volumes). Altogether Christian printers produced fifteen different printings of the Hebrew Bible in fifty volumes after 1560. Some Christian Hebraists of course continued to use

⁷⁵ Johannes Buxtorf, *Biblia rabbinica*, 4 vols. (Basel: König, 1618–19). Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drucke*, no. 219.

⁷⁶ Most recently on Buxtorf's views, see Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue: Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 321–325.

⁷⁷ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 172–174, and 172 n. 12, 190–194.

Jewish printings of the Hebrew Bible, such as those printed by Menasseh ben Israel.⁷⁸ That Christian scholars and printers were involved in producing Hebrew Bible imprints at all is a further indication of the size of the Hebrew book market among Christians.⁷⁹

In addition to printing biblical texts themselves in various formats, Christian Hebraists also wrote companions to the text in the form of manuals, essays, and polemical treatises. The two best-known manuals for biblical studies were written by Lutherans: Matthaeus Flacius' one volume work *Clavis Scripturae Sanctae* (Basel, 1567), and Solomon Glassius' four volume *Philologiae Sacrae* (1623–36). Each of these works served as biblical introductions and guides to biblical rhetoric. Johannes Buxtorf's *Tiberias* (Basel, 1620) provided an introduction to the Tiberian Masora and not incidentally a systematic defense of his belief that the vowel points of the Hebrew Bible, like the consonantal text, dated from the biblical period.⁸⁰ While this was not the first time that Buxtorf asserted this claim, it would spark a theological and philological quarrel that would last nearly forty years. In addition to these larger manuals, several Lutheran Hebraists such as Laurentius Fabricius, Johannes Saubert, and Nicholas Oelschlägel wrote shorter essays on subjects such as the vowel points and the structure of the Jewish Bible.⁸¹

Biblical commentaries were a natural and important product of Hebrew learning after 1560. Broadly speaking these commentaries can be divided into three kinds: pedagogical, philological, and exegetical. Pedagogical commentaries provided either Latin-Hebrew printings of Jewish Bible commentaries on individual biblical books, or substantial excerpts from them. The purpose of such imprints was to help students learn to read commentary Hebrew. Paris authors including Jean Mercier, Louis d'Aquin, Philippe d'Aquin, Simeon de Muis, Pierre Vignal, and Jean Bourdelot wrote the majority of these works after 1560.⁸²

⁷⁸ FFM, nos. 152–153, 167.

⁷⁹ Apart from printing entire Hebrew Bibles Christian printers produced thirteen partial Bible printings such as Pentateuchs (two) or the Minor Prophets (six). They also printed a surprising number of New Testament books either in Hebrew translation (nine), or parts of the Syriac New Testament using Hebrew characters (twelve). A further fourteen anthologies were printed containing substantial passages from the Hebrew Bible, twelve of them compiled by Lutheran authors.

⁸⁰ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 216–228.

⁸¹ Fabricius: VD 17: 1:058164H, 23:273586X; Saubert: VD 17 23:315992M; Oelschlägel: VD 17 3:013889N, 12:12321S.

⁸² Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 268, 273, 277, 279, 305, 307, 314, 322. Simeon de Muis wrote or edited *Psalmus primus. Cum commentariis Rabbi David Kimhi, parva*

Protestant contributors to this genre included Samuel Bohl (five), Constantine L'Empereur, Johannes Buxtorf the younger, and Johannes Leusden (two works each). While most of these writers translated commentaries of Rashi, David Kimhi or Abraham Ibn Ezra on individual books, some translated commentaries that did not appear in Rabbinic Bibles. Both Buxtorf the younger and L'Empereur translated selections of Isaac Abravanel's commentaries.⁸³

Commentaries that consisted primarily of philological or critical notes comprised over a third of the biblical commentaries (fifty-three of 141). The growing expertise of Christian scholars not only in the study of Hebrew but also in related languages such as Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic fueled such study. Moreover, Hebraists who were not fierce partisans of one or another of the Protestant confessions could use this format to comment on the parts of biblical books that they found interesting linguistically or historically without having to weigh in on divisive theological issues.⁸⁴ Since both Dutch and English Hebraists were in the forefront of promoting Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic studies, and they were also caught up in the linked crises of the Remonstrant-Counter Remonstrant rift in the Dutch Republic and the Arminian-Reformed controversy in England, it is understandable that two-thirds of these commentaries (thirty-six of fifty-three) were produced in these countries. Johannes Drusius published more of these commentaries (seventeen) than anyone else, in part because the States General paid him to write annotations on the entire Bible to support a Dutch Bible translation project.⁸⁵ In England, John Pearson's nine volume *Critici Sacri* (1660) was the most extensive work of its kind, blending together for each biblical book annotations written

Massorah & Targum seu Chaldaica paraphrasi (1612), *Malachias cum commentariis R. David Kimhi a Francisco Vatablo* (1618) and *In Psalmum XIX trium erudissimorum Rabbiorum Commentarii: Hebraice cum Latina Interpretatione* (1620). Pierre Vignal wrote or edited: *Libellus Ruth cum scholiis Massorae ad marginem. Item in eundem succincta expositione rabbinica, cujus in manu scripto exemplari author praefertur R. D. Kimhi* (1609), and *Liber Nahum Cum parva Masora & Commentarius ... David Kimhi* (1615).

⁸³ Constantine L'Empereur, *D. Isaaci Abarbanelis et R. Mosis Alschechi Comment in Esaiae prophetiam 30. ... Subiuncta refutatione et textua nova versione ac paraphrasi* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1631); Buxtorf, *Dissertatio de Sponsalibus et Divortiis. Cui accessit Isaaci Abarbenelis Diatriba De Excidii Poena, cujus frequens in Lege & in hac ipsa materia fit mentio* (Basel: König, 1652), and *Exercitationes ad Historiam I. Arcae Foederis. II. Ignis Sacri et Coelestis. III. Urim et Thummim. IV. Mannae. V. Petrae in Deserto. VI. Serpentis Aenei. Quibus Sacrae haec Vet. Testamenti Mysteria, praecipue ex Hebraeorum, qua Veterum qua Recentium monumentis enucleantur* (Basel: Decker, 1659).

⁸⁴ Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies*, 132–133.

⁸⁵ See above, chap. 2.

since the mid-sixteenth century, including the works of Münster and Fagius. Reformed authors of such works outside of the Dutch Republic and England included Bonaventure Bertram and Theodor Ebert (two imprints each), and Samuel Le Petit (four).⁸⁶ A few Catholic and Lutheran scholars also contributed to this kind of biblical commentary, including Catholics Angelo Canini and Simeon de Muis, and Lutherans Daniel Fessel, Jacob Gerschow, Peter Kirsten, and Bartholomaeus Scheraeus.⁸⁷

Exegetical commentaries (56 of 141), which treated the interpretation of entire books, whether proceeding line-by-line and section-by-section, were a natural vehicle not only for confessional formation but also for demarcating theological boundaries with other Christian confessions. Scholars from the Catholic and Reformed traditions wrote and printed the lion's share of Old Testament commentaries that interacted closely with the Hebrew Bible text, each producing twenty-one commentaries.⁸⁸ Reformed scholars John Calvin and Jean Mercier each had six biblical commentaries printed during this period, and Calvin's Psalms and Daniel commentaries uniquely provided the Hebrew text of each book as well as his commentary on it.⁸⁹ Reprints of earlier commentaries written by Musculus and Oecolampadius add a further seven commentaries to this total.⁹⁰ According to G. Sujin Pak, what differentiates the approach of

⁸⁶ Bonaventure Bertram, *Lucubrationes Frantallenses* (Speyer: Albinus, 1588), reprinted in 1645 VD 17 3:308736B; Theodor Ebert, *Jesu Christi vita ex Matthaeo et reliquis Evangelistis tribus decuriis rythmorum quadratorum Hebraicorum scripta* (Frankfurt/Oder: Hartmann, 1615), and VD17 23:632557B; Samuel Petit, *Miscellaneorum libri novem in quibus veterum scriptorum loca* (Paris: Morell, 1630); *Eclogae chronologicae* (Morell, 1632); *Observationum libri III* (Paris: Morell, 1641 and 1642).

⁸⁷ Angelo Canini, *De locis s. scripturae hebraicis Angeli Caninii commentarius, et Antonii Nebrissensis quinquagena ...* (Antwerp: Bellère, 1600) and reprinted as VD 17: 23:647025Q; Fessel: VD 17 1:050845F and 1:050835Z; Kirsten: VD 17: 1:071605E, and Scheraeus: VD 17 3:610760A and 12:119931C.

⁸⁸ Any future scholarly examination of biblical commentaries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will certainly reveal more commentaries that contain discussions of the Hebrew text. Apart from a few figures such as Luther, Calvin, Bucer and Johannes Gerhard, the study of Hebrew in early modern biblical commentaries is still in its infancy. See G. Sujin Pak, *The Judaizing Calvin: Sixteenth-Century Debates over the Messianic Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁸⁹ Schwarzfuchs, *L'Hébreu dans le Livre à Genève*, nos. 43, 69, 87, 114, John Calvin, *In Librum Psalmorum Commentarius* (Geneva: Vignon, 1610); Idem, *Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Daniels* (La Rochelle: Vignier, 1609). I have noted only Calvin's commentaries that included the printing of entire biblical books, not those which included Hebrew words and phrases in the notes as Schwarzfuchs did in her Geneva bibliography. See for example nos. 5, 14, 20, 24, passim.

⁹⁰ Musculus: Prijs, *Basler Hebräische Drücke*, nos. 156*, 169*, 218*, 226*; Oecolampadius: Schwarzfuchs, *Genève*, nos. 62, 85, 88.

Calvin (and some other Reformed interpreters) from Lutheran scholars to the prophetic books and the Psalms was his willingness to try and understand prophecies within their historical setting first, rather than assuming that their literal meaning could only refer to Christ.⁹¹ Pitkin notes that while Calvin believed that Christ was the *scopus* of the Scripture, a commonplace among pre-critical commentators, he employed a range of approaches in pursuing this interpretive goal.⁹² This humanist concern for historical context was a clear break from traditional Christian interpretation of these texts and raised the specter of Judaizing, particularly when Calvin and other Reformed interpreters made extensive use of Jewish biblical commentaries. Aegidius Hunnius, a Lutheran polemicist of the late sixteenth century, asserted that in fact Calvin was a Judaizing interpreter and argued his point in his *Calvinus Iudiazans* (Wittenberg, 1593).⁹³ In contrast to the Reformed, Lutheran commentators produced very little in the way of commentaries that interacted closely with the Hebrew Bible text (three imprints).⁹⁴

Among Catholic interpreters, Gilbert Générard produced the majority of biblical commentaries that used extensive amounts of Hebrew type. His best-selling *Psalmi Davidis* (Paris, 1577) was reprinted thirteen times, his Song of Solomon commentary appeared twice, and his commentary on Joel once.⁹⁵ The Song of Solomon and Joel commentaries made copious use of Jewish biblical commentators. Agostino Steuco's *Opera omnia*, which contained his biblical commentaries on the Pentateuch, were printed twice in Paris (1577) and Venice (1590), while his Job commentary appeared in Venice (1567). It appears that nearly all of these Catholic

⁹¹ Martin Bucer interpreted the Psalms with a greater concern for their *historia* as well. See R. Gerald Hobbs, "How Firm a Foundation: Martin Bucer's Historical Exegesis of the Psalms," *Church History* 53 (1984): 477–491.

⁹² Barbara Pitkin, "John Calvin and the Interpretation of the Bible," in: *A History of Biblical Interpretation*, vol. 2: *The Medieval through the Reformation Periods*, ed. Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2009), 341–371, here 355.

⁹³ Pak, *Judaizing Calvin*, 110–111.

⁹⁴ The Lutheran commentary tradition of the seventeenth century has been shamefully neglected by later scholarship, and future research will almost certainly turn up such commentaries. Provisionally, see Johann Anselm Steiger, "The Development of the Reformation Legacy: Hermeneutics and Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture in the Age of Orthodoxy," in: *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Magne Saebø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 691–757, here 725–732 and 744–747.

⁹⁵ Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 279, 331, 357, 372, 373, 380, 399, 411, 417, 418. Idem, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais*, nos. 177, 200. His Psalms commentary was also reprinted in Antwerp (1592), Lyon (1607, 1615), Cologne (1615) and Venice (1606).

commentaries focus not on the Pentateuch or the Prophets, but on the Writings, above all the Psalms. The mandate from the Council of Trent that Catholic theologians were to use and defend the Vulgate rather than the Hebrew Old Testament may have discouraged some commentators, though it did not affect those who worked or published their works in France. Fourteen of the twenty-one of these Catholic commentaries were printed in Paris or Lyon.

Polemics involving the biblical text were perhaps the most important theological discussion across confessions that involved Hebrew scholarship. The Council of Trent's adoption of the Vulgate as the "authentic" official Bible of the Church for use in lectures, disputations and sermons in 1546 set the stage for the controversy. Since for the Catholic Church the Bible was only one source of the Church's authority, the Church meeting in council and the hierarchy being the other two, this decree was primarily controversial among Catholics in that it left undefined the relationship between the Vulgate and the Hebrew and Greek original texts.⁹⁶ Dominican Melchior Cano interpreted the Council's decree to mean that while "recourse to the original Hebrew and Greek might heighten one's literary appreciation of the Latin text, this was not strictly necessary for knowing the biblical message."⁹⁷ Only in 1576 did the Roman Congregation of the Council, which oversaw the implementation of the Tridentine Council decrees, rule that "the Vulgate text was sacrosanct and no sentence, word, or syllable was able to be changed."⁹⁸ This declaration had implications both for Catholic biblical scholarship within the Church and for anti-Protestant polemics.

Robert Bellarmine's *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis hereticos* (1586–1589) was one of the best-known polemical treatises of the Reformation era, and his discussion of the Vulgate and its relationship both to the Hebrew and Greek sources and to later translations set the terms for Catholic-Protestant arguments over the authority and perspicuity of the Bible. Bellarmine asserted that the Hebrew Bible consonantal text was largely reliable, and against some

⁹⁶ Jared Wicks, "Catholic Old Testament Interpretation in the Reformation and Early Confessional Eras," in: *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, vol. 2, 617–648, here 624–629. The decree also put other Latin translations, notably Sanctes Pagninus' translation, "in their place" by declaring them to be less authoritative than the Vulgate, whether they better reflected the Hebrew base text or not (pp. 632–633).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 633. See Melchior Cano, *De locis Theologicis libri duodecim* (Louvain: Stelsius heredes, 1566), II, 13–15.

⁹⁸ Wicks, "Catholic Old Testament Interpretation," 634.

other Catholics, argued that the Jews had not maliciously altered it in some passages such as Psalm 22: 16. Nevertheless, he suggested that there were places where it had perhaps suffered from textual corruption.⁹⁹ Further, he stated that the rabbis had added the Hebrew vowel points to the text after the biblical period, and they were simply a reading aid that could be used or not by readers as they wished.¹⁰⁰

Bellarmino called into question several critically important Protestant doctrines with these assertions. First, Protestants believed that the Bible alone, and not Church councils, the Church hierarchy, or Church traditions, had the authority to settle controversies over doctrine and practice. Secondly, they believed that Bible was perspicuous, that it could be understood and interpreted readily, and that it was not obscure in its teaching of any central doctrine. By challenging both the absolute reliability of the consonantal text itself and of the vowel points, Bellarmine sought to undermine the confidence of Protestants. He devoted a great deal of space to defending the Catholic doctrine of the primacy of the Vulgate and its relationship to the received Hebrew and Greek originals. Although the original Hebrew and Greek texts were older than the Vulgate, he asserted that the received versions of those texts were inferior to the Vulgate.¹⁰¹

The Catholic doctrine of the primacy of the Vulgate over the received Hebrew Bible text, and Bellarmine's assertion that the Hebrew vowel points were a later addition to the text, did not go unanswered among Protestants. Sixtius Amama attacked the Vulgate in three different books

⁹⁹ "His ergo duabus sententiis refutatis, restat tertia, quam ego verissimam puto, quae est Driedonis ... et aliorum qui docent, scripturas hebraicas non esse in universum depravatas, opera vel malitia Judaeorum; nec tamen esse omnino integras et puras, sed habere suos quosdam errors, qui partim irrepserint negligentia, vel ignorantia librariorum, praesertim cum in Hebreo facile sit errare ab literas quasdam simillimas, quales sunt ... partim ignorantia Rabbiorum qui addiderunt puncta. Cum enim possint dictiones hebraicae variis modis legi, si punctis careant; non est mirum, si aliquando ipsi quoque in notatione punctorum a vero aberraverint. Potest etiam fieri, ut ex pravo affectu, et odio in Christum ea lectio interdum ipsis magis probata sit, quae minus christianis favebat." Robert Bellarmine, *Disputationum de Controversiis Christianae Fidei Adversus Hujus Temporis Haereticos*, vol. 1, ed. Xisto Riario Sforza (Naples: Joseph Giuliano, 1856), II, 2 (p. 65). For a discussion of Bellarmine's views of textual criticism, see Piet van Boxel, "Robert Bellarmine, Christian Hebraist and Censor," in: *History of Scholarship: A Selection of Papers from the Seminar on the History of Scholarship Held Annually at the Warburg Institute*, ed. C. R. Ligota and J.-L. Quantin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 251–275, here 265.

¹⁰⁰ "Errores autem qui ex additione punctorum acciderunt, nihil omnino veritati offiunt: puncta enim extrinsecus addita sunt, nec textum mutant. Itaque possumus, si volumus, puncta detrahare et aliter legere." Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. II, 11.

between 1618 and his death in 1629.¹⁰² The most important discussions that took place, however, involved exchanges concerning the age of the Hebrew vowel points that occurred before 1630, and those concerning the integrity of the received Hebrew consonantal text that extended three decades after 1630. Johannes Buxtorf the elder was the most ardent and best-informed proponent of the position that the vowel points dated from the biblical period, if not from the biblical writers themselves. He made this argument first in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus* (1609), and then in a more sustained fashion in *Tiberias* (1620). The latter work was primarily a handbook explaining the Masora, its history and its uses, but it also contained a response to Bellarmine. Buxtorf asserted that indeed the Jews had transmitted the received biblical text accurately, that the vowel points dated from the time of Ezra and the Men of the Great Synagogue, and therefore the received text, including the vowel points, was both authoritative and perspicuous. Four years later, fellow Reformed Hebraist Louis Cappel published his book *Arcanum punctationis revelatum* (Leiden, 1624), which called into question Buxtorf's assertions concerning the vowel points, and therefore the full perspicuity of the Hebrew Bible text. Cappel believed that the text could be read accurately without vowel points, just as readers of Arabic could do so without vowel points.¹⁰³ Since Cappel published his book anonymously, there was no public conflict between the two men, and the book created no visible split among Protestants concerning the reliability of the Hebrew Bible.

The discussion over the reliability of the received Hebrew consonantal text was far louder and more divisive than the vowel points controversy. Jean Morin was the first Catholic Hebraist to make sustained use of Hebrew philology in an effort to undermine Protestant confidence in the Masoretic Text. Morin's first effort came in his introduction to a new edition of the Septuagint in 1628, where he argued that the Greek translation was superior to the received Hebrew text, which the Jews had altered in places.¹⁰⁴ Morin's chief contribution to the debate, however, came in 1632,

¹⁰² Sixtius Amama, *Dissertatiunula, qua ostenditur praecipuos papismi errores ex ignorantia ebraismi et Vulgata versione partim ortum, partim incrementum sumpsisse* (Franeker: Heynsius, 1618); idem, *Censura Vulgatae atque a Tridentinis canonizatae versionis quinque librorum Mosis* (Franeker: Heynsius, 1620); and idem, *Anti-Barbarus biblicus* (Amsterdam: Laurentius, 1628), reprinted in Franeker: Idzard, 1656.

¹⁰³ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 219, 223–225.

¹⁰⁴ Peter N. Miller, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century," in: *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus/The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 59–85, here 73–77.

when the first volume of the Paris polyglot appeared, including the first printing of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which Morin had edited. Morin's willingness to denigrate the received Hebrew text provoked not only Protestants to dispute his claims, but also some fellow Catholic scholars, notably Simeon de Muis, Professor of Hebrew at the College Royale in Paris. Muis and Morin exchanged a series of barbed essays concerning the latter's views throughout the 1630's.¹⁰⁵

Louis Cappel's entry into this debate over the reliability of the consonantal Hebrew text stirred controversy even further. After publishing *Arcanum punctationis revelatum*, Cappel devoted himself to a detailed study of the Masoretic text, comparing it with the Septuagint and also with New Testament quotations of the Septuagint. As he made his comparisons, Cappel identified an array of different kinds of textual corruption including the possibility of differences in word division, haplography and dittography, and misreadings or metathesis of individual consonants.¹⁰⁶ Consequently he was willing to offer conjectural emendations to the received Hebrew text when he thought it was warranted. Cappel compiled these findings into his magnum opus *Critica sacra*, but he was unable to find a Protestant firm willing to print it. Only when the Reformed scholar turned to Jean Morin and Marin Mersenne did he find support to publish his conclusions in 1650. Morin edited the work slightly to bring it closer to his own published conclusions on the reliability of the Hebrew Bible text.¹⁰⁷ Cappel's revolutionary conclusions provoked a number of polemical responses, most notably by the younger Johannes Buxtorf in his *Anticritica* (Basel, 1653), but also from two books by no less a figure than Archbishop James Ussher.¹⁰⁸ Altogether Morin and Cappel wrote six works

¹⁰⁵ Jacques Le Long reported that Muis prepared an unpublished critique of the Paris Polyglot Bible with the support of Cardinal Richelieu. See *Discours Historique sur les Principales Editions des Bibles Polyglottes* (Paris: Pralard, 1713), 188.

¹⁰⁶ Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 117, 127, 132–134. See also François Laplanche, *L'Écriture, Le Sacré et L'Histoire: Érudits et Politiques Protestants devant la Bible en France au XVIIe siècle*, Studies of the Institute of Intellectual Relations Between the West-European Countries in the Seventeenth Century 12 (Amsterdam: APA-Holland Univ. Press, 1986), 231.

¹⁰⁷ Louis Cappel, *Critica sacra* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1650). See Stephen G. Burnett, "Later Christian Hebraists," in: *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, ed. Magne Saebø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 785–801, here 790–791.

¹⁰⁸ James Ussher, *De textus Hebraici veteris testamenti variantibus lectionibus ad Ludovicum Cappellum Epistola. Cui addita est et consimilis argumenti altera* (London: Fleisher, 1652), and *De Graecâ Septuaginta Interpretum Versione Syntagma: cum Libri Estherae Editione Originicâ & vetere Graecâ alterâ* (London: Crook, 1655).

each that provoked twenty responses from various quarters between 1624 and 1660. Whether we understand them within the theological context of their times or the history of biblical scholarship, the debates over the integrity of the Hebrew Bible text and the text-critical value of early translations such as the Septuagint and the Vulgate were among the most important scholarly discussions involving Hebrew that took place during the Reformation era.¹⁰⁹

The remaining categories of books, Liturgy (5.4%), Kabbalah (3.2%), History (3%), Theological Polemics (2.4%), and Halakah (1.6%) account for about 20% of imprints, with only sixty books falling into categories involving 1% or less of all Christian Hebraica. Lutherans were the most avid writers of liturgical works broadly conceived. While none of the sixty-three imprints were used in worship services, most of these books can be divided into two Lutheran liturgical genres: lectionaries and catechisms. A number of Lutheran Hebraists including Johannes Clajus, Conrad Neander, Michael Neander, Elias Hutter, and Friedrich Petri were involved in editing or translating parts of the Gospels or Epistles into Hebrew and usually publishing them in polyglot collections following the lectionary of appointed scripture readings for the liturgical year (fourteen imprints). Joachim von Beust's *Christiados libellus* (seventeen printings) was organized similarly but included woodcut illustrations for the appointed texts.¹¹⁰ Luther's small catechism was written for popular education, but its texts were also used and explained in catechetical services on Sundays.¹¹¹ Johannes Clajus's polyglot version of Luther's small catechism *Catechesis D. Martini Lutheri minor Germanice, Latine, Graecae [et] Ebraice* (Wittenberg: Crato, 1572) was also wildly popular, and appeared in print twenty-seven times by 1660.¹¹² Philipp Hahn published an even more ambitious piece of liturgical translation: a polyglot

¹⁰⁹ Laplanche, *Écriture*, 224–256, 299–327; Frans Pieter Van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur, 1635–1650. Disrupting Debates among the Huguenots in Complicated Circumstances*, Studies of the Institute Pierre Bayle, Nijmegen 19 (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1988). On Cappel's *Arcanum* and its reception, see Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 228–239.

¹¹⁰ Joachim von Beust, *Christiados libellus* (Wittenberg: Selfisch, 1603).

¹¹¹ Gerhard Bode, "Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther," in: *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 159–204, here 178–179.

¹¹² Two other catechism printings included passages from the Syriac New Testament as well as the Hebrew. Martin Luther, *Catechesis R. P. Martini Lutheri [...] Syriasmō [sic] donata; Et partim ex N. T. Syr. partim rituali Severi Patriarch. Alex. Collecta*, ed. Christoph Crinesius (Wittenberg: Gorman, 1609) and *Textus Chaldaicus Danielis, cum Epistola Pauli ad Tit. et Catechesi R. P. Mart. Luth. Syriace* (Copenhagen: Sartorius, 1626).

version of the Augsburg Confession and the three ecumenical creeds (Apostles, Nicene, Athanasian) in German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in 1588.¹¹³ The polyglot format of these liturgical works would have fit well into Latin school instruction, which was probably the purpose for all of these books.¹¹⁴

A few Catholic Hebraist authors were also interested in putting their Hebrew to liturgical use. Jesuit Georg Mayr translated parts of the mass into Hebrew and published them twice in polyglot format. He also translated and published Peter Canisius' Catechism into Hebrew and twice published it in polyglot form. These works were almost certainly intended for school use.¹¹⁵ Giovanni Battista Giona's translation of Cardinal Bellarmine's catechism into Hebrew was probably intended for use by Jewish converts or inquirers.¹¹⁶ Générard's *Traicte de la liturgie* (Paris, 1592) embodies both his Hebrew learning and his combative anti-Protestant polemics. His *Symbolum fidei Iudaeorum E. R. Mose Aegyptio* (1569) was also intended for use in polemics and contains translations of Moses Maimonides' thirteen articles, prayers from the Mahzor, and a list of the 613 commandments.¹¹⁷ Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie's edition of the Syriac baptism liturgy combines his skills in Hebrew and Syriac.¹¹⁸

Christian Hebraist liturgical works were for the most part one more kind of pedagogical aid to learning Hebrew. The two most common genres were lectionaries and catechisms, and only Lutheran and Catholic Hebraists published in this area to any great degree. Only four catechisms

¹¹³ Philipp Hahn, *Summa Doctrinae Christianae, Articulis XXI Confessionis Augustanae prioribus comprehensa, item, Tria Symbola Catholica seu Oecumenica, Apostolicum Nicenum & D. Athanasij, Germanice, Latine, Graece & Ebraice* (Wittenberg: Crato, 1588).

¹¹⁴ Bode, "Instruction of the Christian Faith," 184–185. The only other liturgical work published by a Lutheran author was Johann Stephan Rittangel's *Liber Rituum Paschaliuum* (Königsberg: Paschalem Mensenium, 1644), a polyglot work including a German translation of the Passover Haggadah.

¹¹⁵ *Cantica Paschalia quadrilingua* (Augsburg: [Mang], 1618); *Litaniae Beatae Virginis Mariae, pro felici morte impetranda, latinae, graecae et hebraicae. Congregationibus Academicis eiusdem Deiparae, dedicatae* (Augsburg: n. p., 1618); *Catechismus Catholicus, cum interpretatione Graeca, et Hebraica* (Dillingen: Rem, 1621), reprinted (Dillingen: Rem, 1622).

¹¹⁶ B. Pick, "Battista, Giovanni Giuda Geona," *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, Supplement*, vol. 1, ed. John McClintock and James Strong (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1889), 378.

¹¹⁷ Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 327–328, 424; idem, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais*, nos. 186, 187, 192.

¹¹⁸ D. Severi Alexandrini (sic) *quondam Patriarchae de Ritibus Baptismi, et sacrae synaxis ad Syros Christianos receptis liber*, ed. Guy le Fèvre de al Boderie (Antwerp: Plantin 1572).

containing Hebrew were printed within the Reformed world after 1560, three in London, and one in Leiden.¹¹⁹

Books on Christian Kabbalah actually lost ground after 1560 in proportion to other kinds of Hebrew printing, comprising only forty-six imprints, or 3.2% of all Hebraist imprints. The degree of Christian interest in this topic shrank even further if we consider the question in terms of new scholarship and reprinted older works. Some of the most popular kabbalist authors whose works appeared after 1560 included Agrippa (six imprints), Galatinus (four), Giorgio (ten) and Reuchlin (one).¹²⁰ Together these reprinted works comprise 45.6% of the all Christian Kabbalist books published after 1560. In addition, Johannes Pistorius's *Artis Cabalisticae* (Basel, 1580) was an anthology of older kabbalistic works by authors such as Reuchlin, Ricius and Postel.¹²¹ Nearly all of the Kabbalistic authors were Catholic, whether those reprinted from before 1560 or those writing afterwards. The most prolific were Jacques Gaffarel (six imprints), Philippe d'Aquin and Athanasius Kircher (three each), and Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie, who wrote two works and translated Francesco Giorgio's *Harmonia mundi* into French.¹²² Idel noted that Nicholas le Fèvre de la Boderie's introduction to his brother's French translation of Giorgio's *Harmonia mundi* (1579) was an important treatise on kabbalistic

¹¹⁹ Thomas Ingmethorpe, *A short catechisme by law authorized by the church of England for young children to learne* (London: Flesher, 1633); *Catecheticae versiones variae sive Catechismus communis Quadrilinguis* (London: Flseher, 1638); *Elementa religionis, sive IV. capita catechetica totidem linguis descripta* (London: Thomson, 1658); and Immanuel Tremellius, *Sepher hinnuch behire Yah* (Leiden: Raphelengius, 1591).

¹²⁰ Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim: *De occulta philosophia libri* (Paris: Dupuys, 1567), and also (Basel: Oporinus, 1567); idem, *Opera omnia* ([Strasbourg: Zetzner], 1600, reprinted ([Strasbourg]: Zetzner heirs, 1620 and again in 1630). Idem, *Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (London: Gregory, 1651). Galatinus: VD16 R1239, VD 17 1:083690N, VD17 32:631273P; also reprinted in Frankfurt/Main: Marne, 1602. Francesco Giorgio: *Apologia Fratris Archangeli de Burgonovo* (Bologna: Benacci, 1564 and Basel: Henricpetri, 1600). These works were attributed to Burgonovo, but were actually written by Giorgio himself. See also Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 292, 344, 350, 364, 367, 413, 421. Giorgio, *In Scripturam Sacram* (Paris: Bessin, 1622). Johannes Reuchlin: VD16 R1240.

¹²¹ Johannes Pistorius, ed., *Artis cabalisticae tomus* (Basel: Henricpetri, 1587).

¹²² Jacques Gaffarel: *Abdita Divinae cabalae Mysteria, contra Sophistarum logomachiam defensa* (Paris: Blageart, 1625); *Curiositez inouyes, sur le Sculpture talismanique des Persans* (Paris: Mesnil, 1629) and reprinted in 1631, 1637, 1650; *Unheard of Curiosities concerning the talismanic sculpture of the Persians* (London: Moseley, 1650). Philippe d'Aquin: *Discours du Tabernacle* (Paris: Blaise, 1623), *Explanations Literales Allegoriques et Morales du Tabernacle* (Paris: Langhuy, 1624), *Interpetation de l'Arbre Enrichy de sa Figure tiree des plus anciens Autheurs Hebreux* (Paris: Languehay, 1625); Athanasius Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, vols. 1–3 (Rome: Mascadi, 1652–1655). Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie: Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 364, 365, 367, 388, 413, 421 (including all printings of his translations of Giorgio).

hermeneutics.¹²³ Only four Protestant writers produced works of Christian Kabbalah, two Lutherans and two Anglicans. Among Lutherans, Johann Stephan Rittangel published a translation of *Sefer Yezirah* (Amsterdam, 1642), and Paul Elchanan, a Jewish convert, wrote a missionary work, *Mysterium Novum. Ein neu herrlich Beweiss aus den Prophetischen Schriften nach der Hebraeer Cabala ...* (Helmstedt, 1580), which employed some kabbalistic arguments to try and persuade other Jews to convert.¹²⁴ Anglican writers Robert Fludd and Henry More each wrote one book on Kabbalah.¹²⁵

Public interest in Kabbalah was not evenly spread throughout Europe. More Christian Kabbalah was published in Paris than anywhere else (twenty-one of forty-six imprints), followed distantly by Basel (five), Frankfurt/Main, Strasbourg, London, and Rome (three each). Continued Catholic interest in Kabbalah is intriguing if also ironic, since the authorities in both Italy and Spain frowned on such pursuits, as the condemnations of Giorgio's works in the Roman and Spanish indexes attest. In Paris, scholars were free to pursue their interests in esoteric learning, as they were in some parts of the Empire, notably the court of Emperor Rudolf II.¹²⁶ While Protestants might have been interested in Kabbalah before 1660, they seldom published books on the subject.

If Kabbalah was a predominantly Catholic Hebraist pursuit, the Reformed dominated Jewish history. Only two Catholic authors were involved with historical scholarship, Gilbert Générard and Nicholas Serarius. Générard translated both *Seder olam rabba* and *zuta* into Latin (1567), works that were then reprinted seven times by 1580.¹²⁷ He also composed *Notae chronicae sive ad chronologiam & historiam universam methodus* (1584, 1589). The other author was the Jesuit Nicholas Serarius, who attacked both Johannes Drusius and Joseph Scaliger in his *Trihaeresium, seu de celeberrimis tribus, apud Judaeos, Phariseorum, Sadducaeorum et Essenorum sectis* (1604).¹²⁸

¹²³ Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy*, 232, 420 n. 19.

¹²⁴ Robert Fludd, *De praeternaturali utriusque mundi historia* (Frankfurt/Main: Kemfer, 1621); Henry More, *Conjectura Cabbalistica or A Conjectural Essay of Interpreting the Mind of Moses, according to the Threefold Cabbala* (London: Flesher, 1653).

¹²⁵ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s. v. "Fludd, Robert (bap. 1574, d. 1637)" (by Ian Maclean), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/> (accessed 15 July 2011).

¹²⁶ R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his world: a study in intellectual history, 1576–1612* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973).

¹²⁷ Générard: Prijs, *Basler hebräische Drucke*, no. 129; Schwarzfuchs, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais*, no. 198. Idem, *Le Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 316, 338, 339, 370, 400, 437.

¹²⁸ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2: *Historical Chronology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 507–11.

Only two Lutheran authors and three Anglicans published Hebrew-related works of history. Lutherans Georg Gentius translated Solomon ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehuda* into Latin, and Johan Elai Terserus published a work on biblical chronology.¹²⁹ Among Anglicans, Hugh Broughton wrote *The Familie of David* (1605), which included a translated passage from *Seder olam*, and John Lightfoot published *The Temple especially as it stood in the days of our savior* (1617). John Selden¹³⁰ wrote or translated two works, *De diis Syris syntagmata* (1617), and he edited and partially translated *Eutychii Aegyptii, patriarchae orthodoxorum Alexandrini: scriptoris* (1642). The former book was an account of the religions of the ancient Near East, integrating biblical and classical sources, while the latter was a universal history of the world from the creation to the time of Eutychius, particularly emphasizing the church of Alexandria.¹³¹

Reformed authors dominated the field of Hebrew-related history, led by Johannes Drusius (six imprints) and Joseph Scaliger (five), but followed closely by Bonaventure Bertram (four), and Petrus Cunaeus (three). The principal fields that attracted Reformed scholars were historical chronology (Scaliger especially),¹³² accounts of the Hebrew Commonwealth (Bertram and Cunaeus),¹³³ and polemics. Serarius' *Trihaeresium* provoked responses by both Drusius and Scaliger. Serarius treated the dispute as a religious one, displaying a consciously confessional perspective. While Drusius and Scaliger each professed to be Reformed Christians, they preferred to think of their books as works of scholarship that ought to be judged by professional standards rather than confessional ones.¹³⁴ The Reformation was at its root a quarrel over religious authority, primarily

¹²⁹ Georg Gentius, *Historia Judaica: Res Judaeorum ab Eversa Idem Hierosolymitana* (Amsterdam: Nelliuss, 1651); Johan Elai Terserus, *Sacra chronologia inde ab ortu mundi usque ad Natum Christum* (Uppsala: Pauli, 1657).

¹³⁰ Selden's own religious inclinations remain a mystery, though he received a church burial and Archbishop Ussher preached a funeral sermon emphasizing his piety. G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 789–791.

¹³¹ Toomer, *Selden*, 600–614.

¹³² Joseph Scaliger, *Opus de Emendatione Temporum* (Paris: Nivelles, 1583) with further printings in (Frankfurt/Main: Basse, 1593), (Leiden: Raphelengius, 1598), and (Geneva: Rouviere, 1629).

¹³³ Bonaventure Corneille Bertram, *De Politica Judaica* (Geneva: Vignon, 1574), reprinted in 1580; revised by Constantine L'Empereur and printed as *De Republica Ebraeorum* (Leiden: Maire, 1641) and in 1651. Petrus Cunaeus, *De Republica hebraeorum* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1617), and reprinted there in 1631 and 1632.

¹³⁴ Johannes Tromp, "The Treatise on the Patriarch Henoch by Johannes Drusius (1550–1616), in: *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture Presented to Albert van der Heide on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Martin F. J. Baasten and Reiner Munk (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 103–150, here 104–105.

the authority of the Bible, but since the Catholic Church vigorously affirmed the importance of tradition, it was inevitable that historical studies, whether they involved historical chronology, ancient Israel, or the Second Jewish Commonwealth, featured in some polemical works. The propensity of some Reformed theologians in England and the Netherlands to claim that the New Testament contained authoritative precedents for church order and the relationship between church and state also provoked lively historical responses from Petrus Cunaeus and John Selden.¹³⁵ Historical scholarship was thus an important means of questioning ecclesiastical authority.

Christian Hebraists who wrote purely theological polemics using Hebrew did so primarily when writing against Jews and Judaism (twenty-six of thirty-five imprints). Catholic authors employed a variety of genres and approaches, including Fabiano Fioghi's use of dialogue in his *Dialogo fra il Cathecumino* (Rome, 1582) and oration in *Introduttione alla fede* (Rome, 1628), polemical treatises including Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* in Hebrew translation (1657), the first printing of Raymond Martin's *Pugio fidei* (Paris, 1651), and Génébrard's apologetic response to Jewish arguments, *Joseph Albonis ... Davidi Kimhi, et alius cujusdem Hebraei anonymi Argumenta* (Paris, 1566).

Several Lutheran anti-Jewish books contained printed Jewish polemical texts as well. The most notorious of these was Theodore Hacksan's *Liber Nizachon Rabbi Lipmanni* (Nuremberg, 1644), based on a manuscript that he stole from a Jewish acquaintance.¹³⁶ Wilhelm Schickard's *Nizzahon beli Natzah sive triumphator vapulans* (Tübingen, 1623) is actually a printing of *Ahitub ve Zalman*.¹³⁷ Both of these works contained their editor's polemical responses to the Jewish arguments advanced within them. Julius Conrad Otto's *Gali Razia occultorum* (Nuremberg, 1605) reprinted Paulus de Heredia's *Epistola secretorum*, a dubiously Jewish kabbalistic text that Galatinus had used before him.¹³⁸ The most important Lutheran polemic, however, was Johannes Müller's *Judaismus oder Judenthumb* (Hamburg, 1644), an encyclopedic work that rehearses

¹³⁵ On Selden, see below. On Cunaeus, see Arthur Eyffinger, "Introduction," in Petrus Cunaeus, *The Hebrew Republic*, trans. Peter Wetzner (Jerusalem and New York: Shalem Press, 2006), ix-lxx, here xl-l.

¹³⁶ Hacksan also wrote a refutation of the Kabbalah in his *Miscellaneorum Sacrorum* (Altdorf: Hagen, 1660).

¹³⁷ Samuel Krauss, *The Jewish-Christian Controversy from the earliest times to 1789*, vol. 1: *History*, ed. William Horbury (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995), 227.

¹³⁸ Gershom Scholem, "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah," in: *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and their Christian Interpreters*, ed. Joseph Dan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997), 17–51, here 33.

practically every kind of anti-Jewish argument in use during the Middle Ages or the Reformation era.¹³⁹

Only four authors from either the Anglican or Reformed traditions composed anti-Jewish polemics after 1560. Hugh Broughton famously received a letter from a Jew in Constantinople named Abraham Reuben expressing an interest in Christianity, which Broughton published in 1598.¹⁴⁰ Broughton wrote five anti-Jewish books between 1598 and 1606, all inspired by this initial letter.¹⁴¹ Reformed scholar Johannes Hoornbeeck wrote both *Pro convinciendis et convertendis judaeis* (Leiden, 1655) and a broader polemical work *Summa controversiarum* (Utrecht, 1653 and 1658) directed at all kinds of enemies of the Reformed faith including heretics, schismatics, pagans, Muslims and of course Jews. Similarly, Philippe du Plessis Mornay wrote *De la vérité de la religion chrestienne* (Geneva, 1590) against a broad array of those he regarded as enemies of the church, while employing his Hebrew learning against the Jews.¹⁴² Antonius Hulsius focused more narrowly on the question of the messiah in *Theologicae iudaicae pars I de Messia* (Breda, 1653).

Curiously only Catholic authors wrote theological polemics against Christian “heretics” of various kinds using Hebrew after 1560. Génébrard’s *De S. Trinitate libri tres contra huius aeui trinitarios, antitrinitarios, & autotheanos* (Paris, 1569, reprinted in 1585), and *Ad Iacobum Schegkium Schorndorffem ... De S. Trinitate libris ... responsio* (Paris, 1575, reprinted in 1576) were directed against anti-Trinitarians of various kinds. Former Protestant Pierre Victor Palma Cayet wrote against Lutheranism specifically, and also responded to Protestant criticisms of the sacrifice of the mass and belief in Purgatory.¹⁴³

John Selden was the dominant figure in the Christian study of the Halakah.¹⁴⁴ Selden was a lawyer by training and between 1617 and 1655 he

¹³⁹ Martin Friedrich, *Zwischen Abwehr und Bekehrung: Die Stellung der deutschen evangelischen Theologie zum Judentum im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck, 1988), 73–74, 79–82. Other authors who wrote anti-Jewish polemics included Michael Havemann and Johann Salomon, see pp. 73, 93 n. 46.

¹⁴⁰ While scholars have in the past wondered whether Broughton himself wrote the letter, there is circumstantial evidence that a Jew wrote the letter and sent it to Broughton. See Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 39 and n. 20.

¹⁴¹ Pijls, *Die Basler hebräische Drucke*, nos. 155–156; FFM nos. 142–144.

¹⁴² Schwarzfuchs, *L’hébreu dans le livre à Genève*, no. 113.

¹⁴³ Schwarzfuchs, *Livre hébreu à Paris*, nos. 427, 432, 439.

¹⁴⁴ On Selden’s life and works, see Toomer, *Selden*. Jason P. Rosenblatt focuses on the impact of Selden’s Jewish research on his contemporaries and later writers in *Renaissance England’s Chief Rabbi John Selden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

produced works on topics as wide-ranging as *Titles of Honor* (1614, 1631), inheritance law (1631, 1638), natural law (1640), the Jewish calendar (1644), Jewish marriage law (1646), and the history and workings of the Jewish legal system (1650–1655 in three volumes), all using Hebrew sources.¹⁴⁵ Even his famous work on international law, *Mare clausum* (1635, printings in 1636), contains quotations and discussion derived from the Talmud.¹⁴⁶ Gerald Toomer asserted that, apart from Selden's antiquarian interest in the Jewish legal system, which fascinated him as distinctly different from the systems of Roman law, canon law and English law, he was motivated to investigate biblical and later Jewish law because of his present day concerns. By the time he wrote his *De Anno Civili* (1644), he had become alarmed by the political ambitions of the clergy of the Westminster Assembly. In his introduction Selden decried the

Ignorance, laziness, or deliberate deceptions of those who apply the usages of the ancient Jewish state to Christian practices without knowledge of the Talmud; about those Christians who, while rejecting tradition, distort scripture for their own purposes in their desire for power or jurisdiction. ...¹⁴⁷

Selden was particularly concerned about the enthusiasm of English Protestants for excommunication, an issue he would discuss in depth in his final work *De Synodiis* (1650–55).¹⁴⁸

Apart from Selden's contribution to the study of Halakah, Reformed scholars dominated this field as well, producing six of nine such works. These scholars focused their attention on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*.¹⁴⁹ Katchen rightly stressed Maimonides' importance for a circle of seventeenth century Dutch Hebraists, but Christian Hebraists in other countries and other traditions translated parts of his *Mishneh Torah* into Latin

¹⁴⁵ John Selden, *Titles of Honor* (London: Stansby, 1614; reprinted 1631); *De successionibus ad leges Ebraeorum* (London: Bishop, 1631; revised and printed, 1638); *Mare clausum* (London: Stansby, 1635; reprinted three times, 1636); *De iure naturali & gentium, iuxta disciplinam Ebraeorum* (London: Bishop, 1640); *De anno civili & calendario veteris* (London: Bishop, 1644); *Uxor Ebraica, seu De nuptis & divortiis ex iure civil it est divino & Talmudico ...* (London: Bishop, 1644); *De synedriis & praefecturis iuridicis veterum Ebraeorum*, 3 vols. (London: Flesher, 1650–1655).

¹⁴⁶ Toomer, *John Selden*, 397–398.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 629.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 693, 700–719.

¹⁴⁹ To the works listed here should be added Georg Gentius' Latin translation of *Mishneh Torah* Hilkot De'ot, *Canones Ethici R. Moseh Meimonidis Hebraeorum* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1640, discussed below with other books on Ethics. Jacob I. Dienstag, "Christian Translators of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* into Latin," in: *Salo Wittmayer Baron Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1974), 287–309, here 294.

as well.¹⁵⁰ Willem Vorstius translated *Hilkot Yesodei ha-Torah* (1638) into Latin, while Dionysius Vossius translated part of book one of the *Mishnah Torah* dealing with idolatry.¹⁵¹ Lutheran Martin Geier translated Maimonides' *Hilkot Abel* (laws of mourning) in *De Ebraeorum Luctu Lugentium* (Leipzig: Gross, 1656), and Catholic Joseph de Voisin translated *Hilkot Shemittah we-Yobel*, concerning the Jubilee year.¹⁵² Edward Pococke published six sections of Maimonides' Arabic commentary on the *Mishnah* for publication as *Porta mosis* (Oxford, 1655).¹⁵³ Johann Heinrich Hottinger translated another halakic work into Latin, Aaron ha-Levi of Barcelona's *Sefer ha-Hinukh*.¹⁵⁴

The *Mishnah* and *Talmud* were the only other class of Jewish literature that Christian Hebraists in any number sought to make available to Christian readers. Most of these books (ten of fourteen imprints) were translations of parts of the *Mishnah* into Latin, with *Pirke Abot* the most popular tractate. Anglican Francis Tayler, and Catholics Paul Weidner and Philippe d'Aquin, the latter two Jewish converts, all translated it, d'Aquin doing so in Latin, French, and Italian.¹⁵⁵ Tayler also translated the *Abot* of Rabbi Nathan, a late Midrash based upon *Pirke Abot*.¹⁵⁶ Robert Sheringham translated *Mishnah Yoma*, from Order Moed, which provides instructions on observing the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur.¹⁵⁷ Johannes Coccejus translated and annotated tractates *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot*. Constantine L'Empereur translated *Middot*, which provides the dimensions of the Jerusalem Temple, and *Baba Kama*, a tractate on civil law.

¹⁵⁰ Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984). On Maimonides' work itself, see Isadore Twersky, *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

¹⁵¹ Willem Henrik Vorst, trans., *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis Rabbi Mosis F. Maiiemon; Abarbanel, De Fidei Capite* (Amsterdam: Blau, 1638) and Dionysius Vossius, trans., *De Idolatria Liber, cum Interpretatione Latina & Notis* (Amsterdam: Blau, 1641).

¹⁵² Dienstag, "Christian Translators of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*," 293, 304.

¹⁵³ Toomer, *Selden*, 459, 761.

¹⁵⁴ Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Juris Hebraeorum leges* (Zurich: Bodmer, 1655).

¹⁵⁵ Paul Weidner, *Sententiae Hebraicae ad Vitae* (Vienna: Zimmermann, 1563); Philippe d'Aquin, *Sententiae et Proverbia Rabbiorum* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1620); *Sentenze i [sic] parabole d'i rabbini* (Paris: Estienne, 1620); *Les Sentences et Proverbes des Anciens Rabins* (Paris: Lacqueh, 1629); Francis Tayler, *Capitula patrum: Hebraicae & Latine edita* (London: Roycroft, 1651).

¹⁵⁶ Francis Tayler, *Tractatus de patribus. Rabbi Nathane autore* (London: Cotes, 1654).

¹⁵⁷ Robert Sheringham, *Codex talmudicus in quo agitur de sacrificiis, caeterisque ministeriis diei expiationis quae Levit. 16. & Num. 29. 7, 8, 9, 10. praecipuntur* (London: Junius, 1648).

He also translated Judah ben Joseph's *Halichot olam*, an introduction to Talmudic study.¹⁵⁸

The tractates that these scholars translated illustrate which parts of the Mishnah were of greatest interest to Christian readers. *Pirke Abot* was broadly acceptable for Christians as a kind of Wisdom book since it was concerned with moral and ethical principles, not Halakah. Both Sanhedrin and Makkot discussed Jewish courts, their jurisdiction, criminal law and punishments. Baba Kama also involved civil law. Middot included a discussion of the Temple, and Yoma the Day of Atonement, biblical topics of great importance. In both England and the Dutch Republic scholars sought to illuminate the Jewish background to the New Testament. John Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1658) was the first systematic attempt to use Talmudic sources to illuminate the Gospels.¹⁵⁹ Clergy in both countries also carried on public discussions concerning the extent to which the institutions of ancient Israel should be normative for Christian society. As we have already seen, John Selden weighed in strongly in favor of cautious, well-informed use of these precedents, if they were used at all.

Few Christian Hebraists concerned themselves with Jewish science, philosophy, Midrash, or ethics but they translated a number of Jewish books in these fields, making them readily accessible to Christian readers. Among scientific works Catholic writers Jean Cinqarbres translated two of Avicenna's medical works, and Marcus Antonius Gaiotius published a polyglot version of Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*.¹⁶⁰ Johannes Buxtorf the younger translated two philosophical works, Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* (1629) and Judah ha-Levi's *Kusari* (1660).¹⁶¹ Philippe d'Aquin and Adalbert Uchtmann each translated Jedaiah Hapenini's *Behinat*

¹⁵⁸ Constantine L'Empereur *Talmudis Babylonici codex Middoth sive de mensuris Templi, una cum versione Latina* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1630) and idem, *De Legibus Ebraeorum forensibus Liber singularis. Ex Ebraeorum pandectis versus et commentarius illustratus* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1637), idem, *Halichot Olam sive Clavis Talmudica, complectens Formulas, Loca Dialecta et Rhetorica praeceptorum Judaeorum* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1634).

¹⁵⁹ Chaim E. Schertz, "Christian Hebraism in 17th Century England as Reflected in the Works of John Lightfoot," (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1977).

¹⁶⁰ *Hippocratis Coi, cognomento divini, Sententiae definitae graece, latine, hebraice*, trans. Marcus Antonius Gaiotius (Rome: Pellopei, 1647); Avicenna, *Libri tertii Fen secunda, quae Latine ex synonymo Hebraica Ophan reddi potest*, trans. Jean Cinqarbres (Paris: Jeune, 1570), and Avicenna, *Libri tertii Fen primae tractatus quintus, de aegritudinibus cerebri*, trans. Jean Cinqarbres (Paris: Du Pre, 1586).

¹⁶¹ Moses Maimonides, *Doctor Plexorum*, trans. Johannes Buxtorf (Basel: König, 1629) and Judah ha-Levi, *Liber Cosri*, trans. Johannes Buxtorf (Basel: Decker, 1660).

olam, the former into French, the latter into Latin.¹⁶² Among Midrashic works, Jacques Gaffarel translated Elha b. David's *Yom Adonai De fine mundi* (1629) and Willem Vorstius translated *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (1644). Two Jewish travel accounts were also translated into Latin: Constantine L'Empereur translated Benjamin of Tudela's *Itinerarium* (1633),¹⁶³ and Johann Heinrich Hottinger did so for Uri ben Simon's *Yihus ha-Abot* (1659).¹⁶⁴

Christian Hebraists of all confessions found Jewish ethical works simple to assimilate into Christian scholarship. Both Jean Mercier and Jacob Ebert translated One Hai Gaon's *Musar ha-Sekel*, which was printed three times.¹⁶⁵ Mercier also translated Joseph Ezobi's poem *Ka'arat Kesef* (1561).¹⁶⁶ Georg Gentius published *Canones Ethici R. Moseh Meimonides* (Amsterdam, 1640).¹⁶⁷ In keeping with both humanist interests and pedagogical needs, a number of Hebraists created anthologies of Hebrew proverbs, including Johannes Druisus, Jean Plantavit de la Pause, and the younger Johannes Buxtorf.¹⁶⁸ Because these works collected and organized Jewish proverbs in the same way that Erasmus did his *Adages*, they found easy acceptance among Christian readers.¹⁶⁹

During the confessional age, Catholic Hebraica production remained strong, but Protestants overtook them in most genres. Kabbalah, Bibliography, and Science were the only genres where Catholic writers produced more books than Protestants. In the all-important categories of grammars, dictionaries and concordances, and Bibles and commentaries, they produced less than a third of all imprints. Catholic Hebraists also produced 48% of all theological polemics (seventeen of thirty-five).

¹⁶² Jedediah ha-Penini, *Examination du monde*, trans. Philippe d'Aquin (Paris: lacqueh, 1629), and idem, *Examen mundi*, trans. Allard Uchtmann (Leiden: Maire, 1650).

¹⁶³ Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerarium Beniamini Tudelensis*, trans. Benito Arias Montano (Antwerp: Plantin, 1575), and idem, *Itinerarium*, trans. Constantine L'Empereur (Leiden: Elzevier, 1633).

¹⁶⁴ Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici sive Hebraeorum, tam veterum, Prophetarum, Patriarcharum; quam recentiorum Tannaeorum, Amoraeorum, Rabbinorum monumenta, Hebraice a terram Sanctam observata & conscripta* (Heidelberg: Brown, 1659).

¹⁶⁵ Jean Mercier, *Cantica eruditionis intellectus* (Paris: Morel, 1561); Jacob Ebert, *Institutio Intellectus cum Elegantia. Carmina moralia Ebraea R. Chaij, in Latinum conversa* (Frankfurt/Oder: Echorn, 1593), and idem, *Institutio intellectus cum elegantia Carmina moralia Ebraea* (Leipzig: Mintzel, 1628).

¹⁶⁶ Jean Mercier, *Paropsis argentea ... cum Latina interpretatione* (Paris: Morel, 1561).

¹⁶⁷ Gentius, *Canones Ethici R. Moseh Meimonidi*.

¹⁶⁸ Johannes Drusius *Proverbium classes duae* (Franeker: Radaeus, 1590); Jean Plantavit de la Pause, *Florilegium Rabbinicum* (Lodève: Colomerius, 1644); and Johannes Buxtorf, *Florilegium hebraicum* (Basel: König, 1648).

¹⁶⁹ Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship, and Rabbinical Studies*, 111–112.

Table 3.4. Confessional priorities in Christian Hebraica, 1561–1660

Genre	Anglican Imprints	Catholic Imprints	Lutheran Imprints	Reformed Imprints	Total
Grammars, Dictionaries, Concordances	34	205	268	199	706
Bibles and Commentaries	49	136	130	147	462
Liturgy	3	11	63	1	78
Kabbalah	2	42	2	0	46
History	7	11	2	24	44
Polemics	5	17	8	5	35
Halakah	17	2	1	4	24
Bibliography	0	12	0	3	15
Mishnah, Talmud	6	4	1	4	15
Ethics	0	3	4	5	12
Miscellaneous	0	5	2	2	9
Philosophy	0	1	0	3	4
Science	0	3	0	0	3
Midrash	0	1	0	1	2
TOTAL	123	453	481	398	1455

After 1560 Protestants stole the show in most genres: grammars, dictionaries and concordances, Bibles and Commentaries, History, Halakah, Mishnah and Talmud, and Ethics. The transmission and mediation of Jewish scholarship was a largely Protestant enterprise in this period. Perhaps the greatest surprise is the strong showing by Lutherans, since most scholarly literature on Christian Hebraism has stressed the Reformed contribution. The contribution of English Protestants, mostly Anglican is also worth further scholarly consideration, given their importance for biblical studies and the Christian study of the Mishnah and Halakah.

Conclusion

The mediation and assimilation of the literature of Judaism that took place during the Reformation era is remarkable for both its sheer size and its rather narrow scope. Before 1560 the only genres of Christian Hebrew

that comprised more than 5% of all imprints were grammars, dictionaries and concordances; and Bibles and commentaries. After 1560, they were joined by liturgical works (5.4%), which effectively served as pedagogical tools. For Christians, Hebrew was purely a tool of scholarship similar to classical Greek, so its public and symbolic uses were rather limited. Apart from its application in interpreting texts, Hebrew enjoyed limited use in the form of occasional poetry, orations, and as a tool of correspondence, both with Jews and with fellow Christian Hebraists.

The primary strategies employed to assimilate Jewish learning into the Christian scholarly world of learning involved translation, repackaging of Jewish texts, and citation of Jewish authors and texts as authorities. Christian translations of Jewish books represent perhaps what their translators felt were most useful to Christian readers. Reflecting the priority of linguistic tools and biblical texts and commentaries, Christian authors translated the works of David Kimhi and Elias Levita into Latin, and they did the same for the Targums and some of the biblical commentaries printed in the Rabbinic Bibles. Beyond these priorities the works of Maimonides proved especially popular. Jewish historical works such as *Seder olam*, *Yosippon*, Solomon ibn Verga's *Shebet Yehudah*, and David Gans' *Zemach David* were also welcome additions to the Christian corpus of historical scholarship.

Other Jewish works were excerpted and repackaged. The Hebrew Bible text itself frequently suffered this fate, appearing with a facing Latin translation, with or without critical notes, or placed into a monumental polyglot format. Setting the authoritative biblical text next to the Samaritan Pentateuch and a plethora of other Christian translations, thereby inviting comparison between them, was a practice alien to traditional Jewish study. The use of snippets and excerpts of texts in larger works such as collections of proverbs or manuals for composition and poetry would have been more familiar, but not the fact that the Hebrew passages floated in a sea of Latin text.

The most compelling evidence for the cultural mediation of Jewish scholarship into the Christian sphere is of course quoting and citing Jewish texts and authorities in the course of discussion. This is also the most difficult of the three forms to measure, though finding examples of Christian Hebraists doing this is not at all difficult. The argument between Christians of different confessions over the age and authority of the vowel points of the Hebrew Bible was based upon a wide variety of Jewish sources, some of them used in opposition to each other. Elias Levita's *Masoret ha-Masoret* (Venice, 1538) was mined for information about the

vowel points by scholars on all sides of the conflict, although he was most useful for those who wished to argue, as Bellarmine, Louis Cappel, Jean Morin, and Joseph Scaliger did, that the vowel points were added to the text after the biblical period ended. Proponents for the antiquity of the vowel points cited a bizarre variety of sources, including Jacob ben Hayyim's masoretic apparatus in the Second Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1525), passages from the Talmud, halakic sources such as Alfasi's *Halichot*, kabbalistic sources such as the *Zohar*, and historical works such as Azariah de Rossi's *Me'or Enayim*. Settling the argument involved not only analyzing the textual and paratextual features of the Hebrew Bible text but also considering the age and evidential value of these sources. The encyclopedic legal discussions of John Selden, who was as comfortable in Jewish sources as with the English, Roman, and canon law that he was trained in, also attest to the possibilities for Christian Hebrew scholarship in the hands of a master.

Christian Hebraists were successful in mediating a good deal of Jewish scholarship into published forms that Christian readers found useful. The massive production of books intended for Hebrew pedagogy and for biblical studies met the needs of an ever-growing number of students and scholars. The language tools also supported those Hebraists who wished to explore other genres of Jewish literature for professional reasons or to satisfy their intellectual curiosity. The most striking example of the latter has to be John Selden, who asked with great sang froid whether he might borrow the Westminster Library's copy of the Babylonian Talmud so that he could fill what he would later call the "tranquil leisure" of life as a prisoner in the Tower of London.¹⁷⁰ Both Catholics and Protestants of all sorts found particular kinds of Jewish learning useful for demarcating theological boundaries between their confessions and to question the legitimacy of their opponents' claims to authority. The ultimate reason that these Christian Hebrew authors were so successful in their work was that Hebrew learning was considered useful by all of the major confessions, and therefore worthy of their patronage and support.

¹⁷⁰ Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi*, 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

JUDAICA LIBRARIES: IMAGINED AND REAL

By the end of the sixteenth century Christian Hebraists of all confessions had developed both a rationale for studying the Hebrew language and Jewish texts and the necessary expertise to do so. A number of authors in each confession had written, edited or translated important works of Hebraica. To write their books, however, scholars needed information about the size and scope of the Jewish literary corpus. They had to have both *intellectual* access to these texts, to know the names of authors, the titles of books, and whether they appeared in print, and *physical* access, libraries where they could read them. The growing awareness and study of Jewish texts among Christian Hebraists led to the composition of the first printed Jewish bibliographies and the growth of Christian collections of Judaica in the hands of private scholars, academic institutions, and noble libraries. The actual number of Jewish titles, to which these authors had regular access, was rather small. Christian Hebraists worked most closely with this small “canon” of Judaica books.

Judaica Bibliographies

A growing awareness of Jewish authors and their books among Christian Hebraists and within the wider scholarly public was an important consequence of the Christian Hebraist project in Reformation-era Europe. With few exceptions most Christian Hebraists of the early sixteenth century had only a vague idea of the names of Jewish authors or their most important books.¹ The composition of Jewish bibliographies by Conrad Gesner, the Buxtorfs, and Jean Plantavit de la Pause reflected the growth of bibliographic awareness among Christians and also served to encourage scholars, institutional libraries, and noble collectors in their efforts to locate and purchase Jewish texts.²

¹ See Sebastian Münster’s vague listing of Jewish authors and titles titled “Nomenclatura Hebraeorum Quorundam Librorum,” in *Grammatica Hebraea Eliae Levitae Germani* (Basel: Froben, 1543), t4r-t7r.

² I have not discussed Johann Heinrich Hottinger’s *Promptuarium sive Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Heidelberg: Wyngaerde, 1658) here because it was more of a reader’s guide to

Gesner's Bibliotheca Universalis and Judaica Bibliography

Conrad Gesner of Zurich has long been considered the father of both general bibliography and Jewish bibliography. Gesner's ambition to create a universal bibliography of books written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew fell far short where Hebrew titles are concerned, but his bibliography is a good indicator for the level of Christian awareness of Hebrew books in the mid-sixteenth century. Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545–1555) is a four-volume folio work that contains the titles of over 12,000 books. The first and fourth volumes are organized by author, while the second and third volumes are classified bibliographies, in which titles are organized by subject in twenty-three different categories (*libri*). The *libri* correspond roughly to school and university disciplines, though Gesner's subject divisions clearly go beyond the trivium, quadrivium, and the four university fields: philosophy, law, medicine and theology.³ At the beginning of most of these sections he also included a book catalogue from a prominent German, French, or Italian printer.

Gesner's main contribution both to Jewish bibliography and to Christian awareness of Jewish books was his incorporation of Jewish imprints into the second and third volumes of *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545–1555). In volume two, the *Pandectarum*, under the rubric of Hebrew grammars and dictionaries, Gesner listed grammars of Hebrew written by both Jews and Christian Hebraists (fols. 38v–39v), translations of Jewish books into Latin (40r), and Jewish printings of the Bible, including descriptions of the contents of both the first and second editions of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (40r–41r). He then provided a list of other Jewish books, unrelated either to grammar or biblical studies (41r–v), followed by his printing of a Bomberg sales list dating from 1542 (41v–42v).⁴ Apart from the titles in Bomberg's catalogue Gesner provides the titles of sixty-nine Hebrew books (including eight Hebrew translations of classical works by Aristotle, Galen and Aesop). The Bomberg catalogue contained seventy-five titles, at least twelve of which are listed by Gesner in his own

Jewish literature than an actual list of imprints. See Seth Jerchow and Heidi G. Lerner, "Johann Heinrich Hottinger and the Systematic Organization of Jewish Literature," *Judaica Librarianship* 13 (2007): 1–25. For the same reason I have not discussed Sixtus of Sienna's *Bibliotheca sancta* (Venice: Griffio, 1566).

³ Ladislaus Buzás, *German Library History, 800–1945*, trans. William D. Boyd (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Co., 1986), 152.

⁴ Reprinted in Aaron Freimann, "Daniel Bombergs Bücherverzeichnis," *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* 10 (1906): 38–42.

discussion. Altogether Gesner lists the titles of 132 Jewish books in volume two. When we consider that Jewish printers produced at least 992 imprints before 1550, then Gesner's coverage was no better than 13.3% of the total.⁵

In the third volume, which focused on theology, Gesner provided a content description of several Hebrew Bibles (12r-v), and a specific rubric devoted to Jewish theology. Here Gesner described the contents of the Babylonian Talmud (15r-17v, derived from Petrus Galatinus' *Opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* and Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (18v). He concluded his discussion with a list of the principal commentators on various parts of the Talmud (18v-19r). Gesner's list of commentators on Old Testament books that followed included a mixture of works authored by both Jewish and Christian writers (19r-27r). To give only one striking example, he listed Abraham Perizol and Moses Nahmanides, Abraham ibn Ezra and Levi ben Gerson all as commentators on the book of Job. The commentaries of Perizol and Nahmanides were printed in the first Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (1517), the latter two in the second edition (1524-25). While it is doubtful that many Christian Hebraists of Gesner's own day would have been able to read these four Job commentaries for themselves, Gesner set a precedent that later Christian bibliographers would follow by including both the names of these Jewish authors and a citation for the book where their commentaries might be found.

Gesner tells his readers in some detail how he assembled his bibliography of Greek titles, but he was much less informative on how he assembled his Hebrew bibliography. In the letter of dedication to Augsburg merchant and imperial councilor Leonhard Beck von Beckenstein in volume one, Gesner related how he used the catalogues of public and privately owned libraries in both Germany and Italy, together with information gleaned from letters, conversations with learned men, and catalogues.⁶ During 1543-44, he visited the Vatican library, the Medici Library in Florence, the San Salvatore library in Bologna, and the Marciana

⁵ To arrive at this estimate I have adjusted Vinograd's estimate of 957 by subtracting imprints from Paris, Basel and Wittenberg (where no Jewish books were printed before 1550), together with those Isny imprints intended for Christian readers (115 imprints), for an adjusted figure of 842 imprints, and added it to Silke Schaeper's estimate of roughly 150 Jewish incunabula titles. See Yeshayahu Vinograd, "The Hebrew Press in the Sixteenth Century (1540-1640)," *Alei Sefer* 15 (1988-89): 129-132, here 131-132 [Hebrew], and Silke Schaeper, "That the Titles of all your Hebrew Bookes May Be Aptly Taken': Printed Hebraica at the Bodleian Library and their Cataloguing 1605-2005," *Bodleian Library Record* 19/1 (2006): 77-125, here 79.

⁶ Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, 1, fol. *3r.

in Venice.⁷ While in Venice he also visited the library of S. Antonio di Castello, which housed Cardinal Grimani's famous collection. Whether Gesner was able to examine Jewish books in these libraries is unclear since none of them except the Salvatore library had inventories of their Hebrew books.

We are on firmer ground, however, when identifying some of the "learned men" who provided Gesner with some of his Jewish titles. Gesner was acquainted with both Wolfgang Capito and Conrad Pellican, each of whom owned substantial collections of Hebrew books, including Rabbinic Bibles and sets of the Babylonian Talmud. Gesner also knew Theodor Bibliander, professor of Old Testament at Zurich, and had access to his *Hebraica* collection. Like any Zurich faculty member he could have consulted the Jewish books in the Grossmünster library, a 1517 Rabbinic Bible and a Hebrew Bible concordance.⁸ Gesner could have asked Sebastian Münster, professor of Hebrew at Basel, who owned a rather large Hebrew library.⁹ He may also have known Paul Fagius, whose Hebrew press in Isny produced two of the books that Gesner mentioned: Elijah Levita's *Tishbi* and his Aramaic dictionary *Meturgeman*.¹⁰ Gesner may even have had access, however brief, to Johann Jacob Fugger's Hebrew collection in Augsburg, when he was invited to become Fugger's librarian and the tutor for his children in the summer of 1545.¹¹ Gesner's known contacts among Hebraists together owned the books listed in Table 4.1. Gesner thus could have learned about more than a third (twenty five of sixty nine) of the titles he mentioned from his own circle of friends, colleagues and acquaintances.

The total number of Jewish books in Gesner's bibliography is rather small when compared with the total number of imprints that he could have included, but he did provide guidance on the availability and potential usefulness of Jewish works. Gesner's list of names of Jewish Bible

⁷ Ibid., fol. *6v. See also Lawrence F. Bernstein, "Bibliography of Music in Conrad Gesner's *Pandectae* (1548)," *Acta Musicologica*, 45/1 (1973): 119–163, here 127.

⁸ Martin Germann, *Die reformierte Stiftsbibliothek am Grossmünster Zürich im 16. Jahrhundert und die Anfänge der neuzeitlichen Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 242. On Gesner's specific use of the library, see pp. 207–209.

⁹ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963), 137. On Münster's library, see pp. 200–201.

¹⁰ Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis*, 2: 39v. Pellican knew Fagius and corresponded with him. Zürcher, *Konrad Pellicans Wirken*, 221–224.

¹¹ Bernstein, "Bibliography of Music," 129. However, it appears that Fugger did not begin collecting seriously until 1548. Paul Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1956), 65.

Table 4.1. Hebrew books owned by Gesner's colleagues and acquaintances

Genre or Title	Owners	Gesner reference
BIBLES AND COMMENTARIES		
Bible in 40 Pesaro 1494	Pellican	Pandectarum 1:40r
Rabbinic Bible: 1517, 1525	Pellican, Capito, Münster	Pandectarum 1:40v
Abraham Saba, <i>Zeror ha-Mor</i>	Pellican, Capito, Münster	Pandectarum 1:42r
Jacob b. Asher, Torah Commentary	Pellican	Pandectarum 1:40v
Bahya ben Asher, Torah Commentary	Pellican, Capito	Pandectarum 1:40v
Moses Recanati, Torah Commentary	Capito? Münster	Pandectarum 1:42r
GRAMMARS, DICTIONARIES, CONCORDANCES		
Abraham de Balmes, <i>Mikneh Abraham</i>	Münster, Capito?	Pandectarum 1:42v
David Kimhi, <i>Michlol</i>	Pellican, Capito? Münster	Pandectarum 1:39r, 42r
David Kimhi, <i>Shorashim</i>	Pellican, Capito? Münster	Pandectarum 1:39v, 42r
Isaac Nathan ben Kalonymus, <i>Meir Netib</i>	Capito? Münster	Pandectarum 1:41r, 42v
Elias Levita, <i>Masoret ha-Masoret</i>	Pellican, Münster	Pandectarum 1:41r, 42r
Elias Levita, <i>Meturgeman</i>	Capito? Fagius	Pandectarum 1:39v
Elias Levita, <i>Pirke Eliyahu</i>	Münster	Pandectarum 1:42r
Elias Levita, <i>Tishbi</i>	Capito? Fagius	Pandectarum 1:42r
Moses Kimhi, <i>Mahalak shevile ha-da'at</i>	Münster	Pandectarum 1:39r, 42v
Nathan ben Yehiel, <i>Aruk</i>	Capito? Münster	Pandectarum 1:41v, 42v
TALMUD AND HALAKAH		
Jacob ben Asher, <i>Arba'a Turim</i>	Capito	Pandectarum 1:42r
Moses Maimonides, <i>Mishneh Torah</i>	Capito, Pellican	Pandectarum 1:42v

(Continued)

Table 4.1. (Cont.)

Genre or Title	Owners	Gesner reference
Talmud, Babylonian	Pellican, Capito, Münster	Pandectarum 1:42v, 2:15v-17v
Talmud, Jerusalem	Capito?	Pandectarum 1:42v
OTHER		
Alphabet of Ben Sira	Münster, Pellican	Pandectarum 1:41r
Jonah Gerondi, <i>Sefer ha-Yirah</i>	Pellican	Pandectarum 1:41r
Joseph ben Halafta, <i>Seder olam</i>	Capito, Münster, Pellican	Pandectarum 1:41v
Joseph ben Gorion, <i>Yossipon</i>	Capito? Münster, Pellican	Pandectarum 1:40r
<i>Midrash Rabbot</i>	Capito, Pellican	Pandectarum 1:40v
Moses Maimonides, <i>More Nebuchim</i>	Münster, Pellican	Pandectarum 1:41v, 2:15v
Rabbenu Tam	Pellican	Pandectarum 1:41r

commentators made Christian scholars aware of new texts, many of them present in the first or second printing of the Rabbinic Bible, copies of which were available in scholarly and university libraries in Wittenberg, Strasbourg, Basel and Zurich by 1560.¹² A Christian Hebraist who read some or all of these books could have had a substantive encounter with some of the most fundamental texts of Judaism.

Gesner's Jewish listings, like those for Greek and Latin books, were also intended to serve as a kind of instant library catalogue for its purchasers. Gesner anticipated that they, like he, would annotate the lists, marking which books they themselves owned or had read.¹³ Count Ottheinrich of the Palatinate planned to use the *Bibliotheca* as a checklist for enlarging his already substantial library in 1544.¹⁴ Presumably

¹² Stephen G. Burnett, "Christian Aramaism in Reformation-Era Europe," in: *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebe, and Dennis R. Magary (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 421–436, here 434–436. See also Germann, *Die reformierte Stiftsbibliothek*, 207–209, and Basel UB Ms. AR I 17, f. 2v (Basel UB catalogue of 1559).

¹³ See Germann, *Die reformierte Stiftsbibliothek*, 207, and Urs Leu, *Conrad Gesner als Theologe: Ein Beitrag zur Zürcher Geistesgeschichte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 165–167.

¹⁴ Helmut Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca Universalis und Bibliotheca Selecta. Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau, 1992), 21.

Gesner's Jewish listings were used in this effort. As we will see, both individual and institutional libraries would reflect his listings to a remarkable extent.

Buxtorf's Bibliotheca Rabbinica

Johannes Buxtorf the elder has long been recognized as the founder of Jewish bibliography for his *Bibliotheca rabbinica* (1613), and rightly so.¹⁵ He was an unlikely winner of this distinction since he did not have access to any of the great noble or institutional libraries of Europe that had Judaica collections. In the introduction he asked rhetorically, "Who would have given me the wings of a dove, as the Psalmist said, that I could fly away and thoroughly examine the public libraries (for private ones in this field are very rare) of princes or cities, that I might know Hebrew books more wisely and thoroughly?"¹⁶ He was rather a professor at the University of Basel, which paid its professors the lowest salary of any in the German-speaking world. Indeed, to make ends meet he worked as a proofreader and representative for the Waldkirch press in Basel, which produced Jewish books under contract for Jewish clients, some from the Frankfurt Jewish community. Yet despite these limitations Buxtorf produced a substantial piece of work that would continue to serve as a source for Jewish bibliographers even into the nineteenth century.

Buxtorf's bibliography consists of a brief introduction on Hebrew Bibles, where he lists thirty-one imprints, and 325 entries in the body of the work itself, arranged alphabetically according to the Hebrew alphabet.¹⁷ Buxtorf's entries begin with the title in Hebrew characters, a Latin transliteration, and a Latin translation of the title. Where he could do so he then provided the name of the author, information on whether the title was available in print (naming the place, printer, year and format) or in manuscript, and finally reported what information he could find on the author and subject of the book. The author was all too aware that his entries were frequently less than complete:

¹⁵ On Buxtorf's life and works, see Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

¹⁶ "Et quis dedisset mihi ... alas columnas (ut Psaltes loquitur) ut sperniciter avolans, & bibliothecas publicas (am privatae ad hanc rem rarissimae) Principium & urbium perquirrens, libros Hebraeos sagicius & penitus cognovissem?" *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis. Liber novus & Copiosus* (Basel: Conrad Waldkirch, 1613), 257–258.

¹⁷ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 38–46, 157–159.

Therefore, kind and learned reader, those [titles] which are neither annotated nor explained here (I know they are many) you must add and explain: name books that you have seen, provide subjects, reveal the place where printed, and if it pleases you, let me know or publish it under your own name, adding to what I have begun.¹⁸

Within the introduction and the individual entries Buxtorf provided information on 400 titles: 160 Jewish imprints, four Jewish manuscripts, 134 entries with both author and title, and seventy with the title alone.¹⁹ He also mentioned thirty-two Christian Hebrew books, ten of them Bible imprints.

Of the Jewish imprints In Buxtorf's bibliography, over 85% were assigned at least a regional provenance. Italian Jewish imprints vastly outnumber all others.

Of the seventeen towns which produced Hebrew books listed in the *Bibliotheca rabbinica*, only four of them produced more than ten imprints: Venice (seventy), Cracow (eighteen), Prague (thirteen) and Basel (twelve). That Buxtorf should be aware of such a large number of Italian imprints is a testimony not only to the sheer number of Jewish books printed in Italy, but also to the efficiency with which these books were distributed in the north, above all through the Frankfurt Book Fair.

Table 4.2. Provenance of Jewish books in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1613)

Country	Number of Imprints	Percentage
Italy	88	55%
Poland	20	12.5%
Holy Roman Empire	17	10.625%
Swiss Confederation	12	7.5%
Ottoman Empire	2	1.25%
Place not given	21	13.125
Total	160	100%

¹⁸ "Ergo, Lector benevole & docte, quae hic nec annotata, nec explicata, (quae scio plurima esse) tu adde & explicata: libros quos habes aut videris, nominato, argumentum dicito, locum impressionis subjcito, eaque vel mecum, si placet, communicato, vel hisce meis initiis apposite, sub tuo nomine publicato." *De Abbreviaturis*, 259.

¹⁹ There were nine other entries, five of them for genres such as "Midrash" and four cross references to books listed elsewhere in the bibliography.

Since Buxtorf, unlike Gesner, was unable to travel to major library collections, he was obliged to rely on such printed sources as he could find, on his own descriptions of books he had seen, and to report titles that he learned of from others, both Christian Hebraists and Jews. Buxtorf himself had a substantial Judaica library that he acquired from a variety of sources. Buxtorf may have owned up to 138 of the titles, including ten written in Yiddish, five other books he cited as sources in the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, and a further four that he quoted in other books that he wrote before 1613. Many of these books he received as payment for his work either at the Waldkirch press or in his role as Hebrew censor for the city of Basel.²⁰ Some of the titles in the *Bibliotheca rabbinica*, probably over sixty, were derived from Gilbert Générard's short listing of Jewish titles.²¹ Other books he learned of or received as gifts from correspondents such as Thomas Erpenius and Joseph Scaliger in Leiden, Johannes Drusius in Franeker, and Walter Keuchen, the Hebrew censor of Hanau.²² A further thirty-seven titles Buxtorf knew only from quotations by other authors, both Christian and Jewish.²³

Buxtorf learned of some titles through his conversations with Jewish printers and bookmen. Once, when he spoke with Elia ben Moses Louans, whose book *Rinat Dodim* was printed in Basel (1600), Elia mentioned his unpublished commentary on Rabbi Bahya's Torah commentary. Buxtorf dutifully noted it in his entry on the former book.²⁴ In the entry on *Qine Bina* (Prague, 1610) Buxtorf apologized for its vagueness. He reported, "While I was writing this catalogue I was given it by a certain Jew, but due to the haste of printing I was unable to go through it in more detail."²⁵

Buxtorf's aim in composing a Jewish bibliography was to make Jewish texts more accessible to Christian scholars. He wrote in the introduction that with the help of his book, scholars would be able to "separate gold from dung" and to make use of "such wisdom as the Jewish synagogue once possessed."²⁶ He also indicated Christian Hebrew books, above all translations that his readers could use. These included not only seven

²⁰ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 138, 142–143.

²¹ Gilbert Générard, *EISAGOGE: Ad Legenda et Intelligenda Hebraeae et Orientalium sine Punctis Scripta* (Paris: Aegidius Corbinus, 1587), 145–148. The vagueness of Générard's entries make it difficult to confirm Buxtorf's use of them.

²² Johannes Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis*, 161, 263.

²³ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 140.

²⁴ Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis*, 324.

²⁵ "Mihi, dum hunc ipsum catalogum scriberem, a judaeo quodam fuit donatus, sed prae festinatione praeli non licuit accuratius perlustrare." *Ibid.*, 322.

²⁶ Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis*, 259.

Latin translations by Sebastian Münster, especially of Elias Levita's grammatical works, but also translations of *Pirke Abot* into Latin by Paul Fagius and Johannes Drusius.²⁷

Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* was a great step forward in providing information about Jewish authors and titles. Apart from its use as a reference book, it also served as a find list and even a ready-made library catalogue. Jean Bourdelot (d. 1638) used his copy to indicate whether he owned a title, marking it with *habeo* if he did.²⁸ It even attracted a Jewish admirer in the person of Jacob Roman of Constantinople. According to the younger Buxtorf, Roman planned to translate the book into Hebrew so that Jews could use it as well.²⁹ Yet even when he published the bibliography Buxtorf clearly felt that it could and should be enlarged. His own copy of *Bibliotheca rabbinica* contains a good deal of marginal annotation.³⁰

The younger Buxtorf revised his father's book during the 1630's and created a substantially larger second edition of the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1640). He had inherited his father's position as professor of Hebrew at the University of Basel, his already large Judaica library, and even a measure of his academic reputation. The younger Buxtorf participated in the Jewish book market not only as a customer who sought to build his own collection, but also as a purchasing agent acting on behalf of other clients.

The younger Buxtorf's correspondence reveals that he was in communication with Jews in both Italy and the Ottoman Empire. From his surviving Hebrew letters with Jews before 1640, we know that Buxtorf did business with two Jews living in Mantua.³¹ His friend Antoine Léger provided him with two contacts in Constantinople, Leo Siaa and Jacob Roman.

Léger had been appointed to serve as chaplain to the Dutch embassy in Constantinople in 1628.³² He was called to Constantinople, in part to carry

²⁷ Ibid., 280, 284–286, 301–303, 319 (Münster) and 318–319 (Fagius and Drusius).

²⁸ François Secret, "Gilbert Gaulmin et l'histoire comparée des religions," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 177 (1970): 35–63, here 46, n. 1 [BN cote A 7509].

²⁹ Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1886)* (Olten and Freiburg/Br: Urs Graf, 1964), 371.

³⁰ Ibid. Basel UB Sig. FA II 24b.

³¹ Buxtorf's Mantua correspondents were Florius Porto and Solomon Gai. See Basel UB Ms G I 62: 325 (Portus Florius) and 344–347 (Solomon Gai).

³² Albert de Lange, "Antoine Léger (1596–1661): Das Leben eines Waldenserpfarrers zwischen Konstantinopel und Genf," in: *Von Berlin bis Konstantinopel: Eine Aufsatzsammlung zur Geschichte der Hugenotten und Waldenser*, ed. Andreas Flick and

on a theological dialogue with Patriarch Kyrillos Lukaris, who was interested in Reformed theology. Léger also took the opportunity to make contact with Jews while he was there. He first met Leon Siaa, a physician in the Sultan's court, and then Jacob b. Isaac Roman in 1633. With Léger's encouragement Roman wrote several letters to the younger Buxtorf in 1633–34, promising to send the latter a list of Jewish books, both printed and in manuscript.³³ Buxtorf only received the list at the last minute when his work was ready for the press, and so he was unable to integrate the new titles into the body of his work. Consequently he published the list as an appendix, adding some annotations of his own together with cross references to books already listed in his bibliography. Jacob Roman also sold manuscripts to Buxtorf, several of which the latter kept for himself, others he would sell to Cardinal Richelieu though his purchasing agent Jean Tileman Stella de Téry et Morimont.³⁴ Jacob Roman's contributions both to Buxtorf's library and to his information on Jewish books ensured that the second edition of the *Bibliotheca rabbinica* would far surpass the first.

The younger Buxtorf's bibliography was twice as large as his father's, even without including Jacob Roman's contribution to it. As in the first edition, there was a separate (unaltered) listing of Bible imprints in the introduction, followed by 630 entries listed in alphabetical order according to the Hebrew title.³⁵ Within these entries Buxtorf mentioned 812 Hebrew titles, including 459 imprints and twenty-eight manuscripts. Of the remaining entries, 182 citations mentioned only the author and title, while ninety-six provided only the title.³⁶ Jacob Roman's bibliography provided a further 306 titles for the bibliography. These included a further eighty-one imprints, 140 manuscripts, seventy-three citations for author and title, and fourteen with only titles. There was surprisingly little overlap between the two lists: only eight of Roman's titles were listed by Buxtorf, though Roman also provided new works that bore the same title

Albert de Lange (Bad Karlshafen: Verlag der Deutschen Hugenotten-Gesellschaft, 2001), 119–167, here 130–134.

³³ Ibid., 133–134. See also Mayer Kayserling, "Richelieu, Buxtorf Père et Fils, Jacob Roman," *Revue des études juives* 8 (1884): 74–95, here 84–95.

³⁴ Ibid. See also Joseph Prijs, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: Die hebräischen Handschriften. Katalog auf Grund der Beschreibungen von Joseph Prijs*, ed. Bernhard and David Prijs (Basel: Universitätsbibliothek Basel, 1994), 37, 47 (Basel UB Ms R III 2 B, C).

³⁵ Buxtorf the younger and Jean Plantavit de la Pause both followed the citation format introduced by the elder Buxtorf.

³⁶ As in the first edition of the *Bibliotheca rabbinica* the younger Buxtorf also provided genre entries (six) and cross-references to other titles (fifteen).

as books listed in Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca rabbinica*.³⁷ Taken together the two lists provide 1,063 Jewish titles, including 540 imprints, 168 manuscripts, 254 author-title references, and 110 citations with titles alone. Buxtorf also mentioned forty-seven Christian Hebraist books, and Menasseh ben Israel's *Conciliator*, which he cited four times when commenting on Jacob Roman's list.³⁸

Apart from Jacob Roman's contribution, the younger Buxtorf had a broader array of sources available to him than his father did for the first edition. He himself may have owned as many as 176 imprints and nine manuscripts, meaning that perhaps a third of the Jewish imprints (38.34%) listed in the body of the *Bibliotheca* were available to Buxtorf in his own library.³⁹ He also relied heavily on lists of Jewish books provided by Jews (presumably booksellers), though he complained that they frequently contained only titles. Christian Hebraists also provided some information; Buxtorf profusely thanked Constantine L'Empereur for doing so.⁴⁰ Buxtorf also referred to a list of Jewish books held by the Bodleian Library.⁴¹

Even with the younger Buxtorf's fine connections to the Jewish book trade, many of the entries in the second edition of *Bibliotheca rabbinica* are rather vague. Over a third of the titles (278) listed were either author-title references or title references alone. Sixty of these Buxtorf found in quotations by other authors. Of Jacob Roman's title listings about a quarter (eighty-six) titles contained either author-title or only titles of books. The younger Buxtorf's listings of manuscripts were almost entirely dependent upon the reporting of others, Christian and Jewish. The younger Buxtorf mentioned twenty-eight manuscripts; nine of them were

³⁷ This was not uncommon because of the convention of naming books after biblical citations. Buxtorf mentioned two books that bore the title *Zemach David* [the sprout of David, Jer. 23:5], one by David Gans, the other by David de Pomis. Johannes Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis* (Basel: König, 1640), 402.

³⁸ Menasseh's listings of titles and authors were just that. He provided no places of publication or dates. See Menasseh ben Israel, *Conciliator, sive De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae* (Frankfurt/Main: by the author, 1637), Bbb2v-Bbb4v. [Amsterdam University Library, cf.uba.uva.nl/en/collections/rosenthaliana/menasseh/19f9/index.html, accessed on 26 October 2009].

³⁹ This number cannot be definitively proved however, since Buxtorf bought and sold books often. Some of the books listed in the second printing of Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca*, such as Isaac Aboab's *Menorat ha-Mor*, were not purchased until after 1642, according to Buxtorf's handwritten notes in the book. (See Basel UB Sig. FA III 26).

⁴⁰ Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis* (1640),)(3r.

⁴¹ "Sic inveni in Catalogo librorum Hebr. Bibliothecae Oxoniensis ad me misso." Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis Hebraicis* (1640), 325. Buxtorf may be referring to a copy of the unpublished catalogue of Hebrew books written in 1629. See George W. Wheeler, "Bibliotheca Rabbinica (1629)," *Bodleian Quarterly Record* 3 (1920-1922): 144-146.

part of his own collection, including two provided by Jacob Roman.⁴² Of the remaining manuscripts, Buxtorf saw two in the Palatine library of Heidelberg while he was a student there, and Daniel Schwenter, professor of Hebrew at the University of Altdorf, owned one.⁴³ Jacob Roman's list, by contrast, contained a substantial number of titles available only in manuscript. Such information would have been especially valuable to scholarly travelers in the Near East who wished to purchase Jewish manuscripts.

The combined imprint lists of Buxtorf the younger and Jacob Roman together demonstrate the overwhelming presence of Italian and especially Venetian Jewish presses, even in the Ottoman Empire.

Table 4.3. Provenance of Jewish imprints in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1640)

Provenance	Buxtorf 2	Jacob Roman	Total	Percentage
Italy	255	49	304	56.3%
Poland	69	3	72	13.3%
HR Empire	50		50	9.26%
Swiss Confederation	24		24	4.4%
Ottoman Empire	44	23	67	12.4%
Dutch Republic	1		1	<1%
No Place given	16	6	22	4.07%
Totals	459	81	540	100%

In Buxtorf's list 55.5% of all imprints were Italian, while in Jacob Roman the figure was 60.5%. Venetian imprints were most common in both lists, comprising 40.1% of all those listed by Buxtorf (184) and 53.1% of Jacob Roman's imprints (forty-three). Considering its origins, Jacob Roman's mention of only twenty-three imprints from the Ottoman empire would compare unfavorably with Buxtorf's forty-four, except that in Jacob Roman's day there were no working Jewish presses in either Salonika or

⁴² Ibid., 376, 418.

⁴³ Ibid., 296, 304. Buxtorf apparently saw Vat ebr. Ms. 250, no. 1 and either Vat ebr. Ms 185, no. 2 or ms 229, no. 5. See Benjamin Richler, ed., *Hebrew manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 187, 130, 166. Buxtorf also saw one imprint there: *Yesod olam* [ibid., 351], which was listed in the Palatine library inventory of 1587. Umberto Cassuto, *I Manoscritti Palatini Ebraici della Biblioteca Apostolica e la Loro Storia*, Studi e Testi 66 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 120.

Constantinople and Roman himself hoped to start a new printing business.⁴⁴ Surprisingly, Buxtorf's listings of books printed in Poland, the Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederation (twenty-three of the twenty-four books printed in Basel) are rather sparse. His listings include exemplars from very small, short-lived presses such as those in Tiengen and Freiburg/Breisgau, as well as the Hanau press. Buxtorf and Roman in their combined totals list ten towns that produced ten or more Jewish books:

Table 4.4. *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1640): printing centers

Place	Region	Number of Imprints	Vinograd	Percentage reported by Buxtorf
Venice	Italy	227	1203	18.9%
Cracow	Poland	58	399	14.5%
Constantinople	Ottoman Empire	54	311	17.4%
Prague	HR Empire	33	324	10.2%
Basel	Swiss Confederation	23	67 ⁴⁵	34.3%
Mantua	Italy	18	218	8.3%
Cremona	Italy	16	45	35.5%
Lublin	Poland	14	189	7.4%
Salonika	Ottoman Empire	12	173	6.9%
Riva di Trento	Italy	10	38	26.3%

Perhaps the most surprising weakness in Buxtorf's bibliography is its coverage of Dutch imprints: he only listed one. Menasseh b. Israel had been printing Jewish books there since 1627, producing eighteen Jewish books, and a further six Bible imprints before 1640.⁴⁶ Some of Menasseh's

⁴⁴ Kayserling, "Richelieu," 94. According to Vinograd, only one Jewish book was printed in Constantinople, and two in Salonika during the decade of 1630–39. Yeshayahu Vinograd, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*, Part 1: *Indexes* (Jerusalem: Institute for Computerized Bibliography, 1995), 34, 36 [Hebrew].

⁴⁵ Since Basel is the only one of these ten cities where large numbers of Christian Hebrew books were printed, I have used Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke* and Bernhard Prijs, "Neues vom Basler Talmuddruck," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 82 (1982): 214–228, rather than Vinograd for a Jewish imprint figure.

⁴⁶ FFM, nos. 145–168. Menasseh printed three complete Bibles (nos. 152–3, 167), two Psalters (nos. 160, 163), and a Pentateuch with Megillot and Targum Onkelos (no. 154).

Hebrew Bible imprints were listed in the Leipzig Book Fair catalogues after 1631. Buxtorf also had many Dutch correspondents, including Constantine L'Empereur, who could have informed him of new Jewish books printed in the Netherlands.

The second printing of Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* must be judged a further breakthrough in the study of Jewish bibliography. Not only did Buxtorf the younger more than double the size of his father's original work, but he also included substantially more information on Jewish books that existed only in manuscript. Since the bibliography was printed in an inexpensive octavo format and was part of a larger manual on reading Jewish texts it did not quickly go out of date, and in fact was reprinted with only a few alterations in Franeker in 1696. A substantially revised version of the bibliography appeared in Herborn, 1708. The *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* would shortly, however, be superceded as the Jewish bibliography of record by Sabbatai Bass's *Sifte Yeshenim* (Amsterdam, 1680), and then far more definitively by Johann Christoph Wolf's *Bibliotheca Hebraea* (Hamburg, 1715–33). Where Gesner provided some information about essential Jewish works, the two Buxtorfs broadened the horizons of Christian scholars by providing them with information about a far larger number of Jewish books.

Jean Plantavit de la Pause

Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause (1576–1651) composed the final Jewish bibliography of the Reformation era, the only such work written by a Catholic author. As a Catholic bishop, Plantavit felt a special responsibility to identify and to condemn outright a number of Jewish books, whether they were officially listed on the Roman Index or not. He also sought to demonstrate as frequently as he could that his bibliography was superior in every way to Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* of 1613.

Plantavit de la Pause was a remarkable man in his own time, not least because he pursued two dramatically different theological careers, one after the other. He was born into a Huguenot merchant family and studied at the universities of Nîmes, Geneva, and Montpellier. He taught briefly at his old college in Nîmes before he shocked his family and colleagues by converting to Catholicism in 1604, persuaded by the Jesuit

Daniel de Fonseca also printed two Hebrew books in Amsterdam before 1640 (FFM nos. 193–194).

Barthélemy Jacquinot.⁴⁷ Plantavit, who had earned one doctorate of theology already, began his education anew, studying at the Jesuit colleges of Rouen and La Flèche. He then embarked on a two-year long grand tour of western and central Europe, including Italy, Germany, Hungary and Poland, returning by way of the Dutch Republic.⁴⁸ He finished his travels in Rome where he studied for a time and received his second doctorate of theology in 1611.

While in Rome he became a client of Cardinal Antoine La Rochefoucault, whose patronage made possible his rise to the position of Grand Almoner of the French Queen.⁴⁹ Presumably the Cardinal also worked behind the scenes to convince King Louis XIII to appoint Plantavit Bishop of Lodève in 1625. Plantavit's career nearly ended in disaster when he supported the revolt of Gaston, Duke of Orleans (brother of King Louis XIII) and Henri II, Duke of Montmorency and governor of Languedoc in 1632. The Duke of Montmorency was tried and executed for treason, and Plantavit, together with three other bishops who were complicit in the revolt, was also put on trial. He was acquitted in 1634, but he was also banished to live in his diocese "to perform his duties there," as the presiding judge explained to a colleague.⁵⁰ The end of Plantavit's favor with the royal family and his enforced residency in Lodève allowed him the leisure to complete his *Bibliotheca rabbinica*.

Plantavit first learned basic Hebrew at the college of Nîmes. After his conversion he devoted considerable time and energy to improving his Hebrew, both biblical and post-biblical. While on his grand tour he studied with Leon Modena both in Florence and in Venice.⁵¹ In his *Bibliotheca*

⁴⁷ M. Poitevin-Peitavi, *Notice sur Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Evêque de Lodève; et sur L'Abbé de Margon, Guillaume de Plantavit, son Petit-Neveu* (Beziers: J.-J. Fuzier, 1817), 9. [Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale côte Ln 1398].

⁴⁸ Mathias Delcot, "Jean Plantavit de la Pause, évêque de Lodève un grand hébraïsant oublié (1579–1651)," in: idem, *Études Bibliques et Orientales de Religions Comparées* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 393–402, here, 398.

⁴⁹ La Rochefoucauld was appointed bishop in 1608 and died in 1634. He was in Rome from January 1610 until May 1613. Joseph Bergin, *Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld: Leadership and Reform in the French Church* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1987), 40–46. See also idem, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589–1661* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 649–50.

⁵⁰ Bergin, *Making of the French Episcopate* 463–4, 684.

⁵¹ Ludwig Blau, "Plantavits Lehrer im Rabbinischen," *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* 10 (1996): 113–120, here 117 n. 1. On Modena's dealings with Plantavit, see *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi. Leon Modena's Life of Judah*, trans. and ed. Mark R. Cohen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 27, 29, 236, 267–68. In 1611 he offered Modena the chair of Hebrew at the University of Paris, presumably on the condition that he convert (29).

Plantavit twice mentioned books he had seen in Modena's own library.⁵² Modena encouraged Plantavit to purchase Jewish books so that he could begin his own Judaica collection.⁵³ During his time in Rome Plantavit continued to improve his Hebrew by studying with Domenico Gerosolimitano, best known for his activities as a censor and expurgator. Plantavit also learned Syriac and Arabic from Gabriel Sionita while living there.⁵⁴ After his return to France Plantavit continued to improve his Hebrew first with Philippe Aquin, a Jewish convert who served as royal lecturer in Hebrew at the University of Paris, and later with Solomon Ezobi, a rabbi in Carpentras.⁵⁵

Plantavit's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* formed a small part of his massive book *Florilegium Rabbinicum*; the second of a three-volume folio set intended to serve as a kind of Hebrew reference library, above all for Catholic scholars. Plantavit sought with his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* not only to provide Catholic Hebraists with information about Jewish books in a variety of fields but also to replace and supersede Johannes Buxtorf's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1613). Plantavit wanted to prove his mastery of Jewish literature by producing a far larger bibliography than Buxtorf with more entries and more detailed descriptions of books. He did so not only out of professional ambition but also in the service of the Catholic Reformation.

Plantavit actually began work on his Hebrew bibliography before the elder Buxtorf had published his own in 1613. Plantavit took notes on a synagogue library catalogue in Prague and on Domenico Gerosolimitano's expurgation index in Rome, both of which he would later refer to in his bibliography. Another important source for Plantavit's bibliography was his own library. According to Plantavit's notations in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, by 1645 he may have owned as many as 189 Jewish books and 36 manuscripts of the 803 Jewish titles he mentioned. Freimann postulated that Plantavit usually indicated which books and manuscripts he owned by tagging individual entries with three stars next to the item

⁵² Jean Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, in: *Florilegium Rabbinicum: complectens praecipuas veterum rabbinorum sententias, versione latina et scholiis* (Lodève: Colomerius, 1644), 552, no. 42, and 560, 112 [Göttingen SUB Sig. 2 Rabb 606/55].

⁵³ Blau, "Plantavits Lehrer," 114.

⁵⁴ Poitevin-Peitavi, *Notice sur Jean Plantavit de la Pause*, 12.

⁵⁵ On Ezobi, see Peter N. Miller, "The Mechanics of Christian-Jewish Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century Provence: N.-C. Fabri de Peiresc and Salomon Azubi," in: *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 71–101.

number on the page.⁵⁶ Plantavit may have intended to do this, but not all of the book or manuscripts that he owned were so tagged. For example, of the 36 manuscripts that he owned only 25 were marked with stars.⁵⁷

Plantavit sold his library to François Bosquet, his successor as bishop and himself a Hebraist.⁵⁸ Ultimately Bishop Charles Joachim Colbert de Croissy (d. 1738) donated Plantavit's library and those of his successors to a hospital which then auctioned them off.⁵⁹ The sales catalogue for Colbert's library contains 129 entries that correspond to works in Plantavit's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, but only 86 of them were starred in the bibliography. The most striking non-starred items were two exemplars of the Jerusalem Talmud, a book banned by the Index of Prohibited Books.⁶⁰ While it is remotely possible that a later bishop of Lodève purchased the Talmud sets, Plantavit probably was practicing self-censorship here, giving advice on what Catholic scholars ought to read while ignoring it himself.

Plantavit also used unpublished lists to assemble the titles used in his bibliography. He quoted a library catalogue that belonged to the "Prague Synagogue Library" (Catal. Synagogae Pragensis) most often, citing it more than 120 times.⁶¹ A similar list, the "Venice Synagogue Catalogue" (Catalogo Synagogae Venetae), he quoted from 44 times; eight books were mentioned by both catalogues.⁶² In early 1640, Leon Modena sent Plantavit a list of about three hundred Jewish authors he had compiled to aid him in his efforts.⁶³ Plantavit had already completed most of the

⁵⁶ Blau, "Plantavits Lehrer," 114.

⁵⁷ Starred manuscripts: 4, 9, 10, 41, 48, 80, 104, 157, 164, 188, 190, 197, 311, 327, 342, 357, 475, 493, 528, 535, 545, 642, 698, 704, 710. Plantavit nos. 41 and 48 are listed as manuscripts and starred, but there is no further information on whether or not Plantavit owned them or had seen them. Manuscripts without stars: 156, 223, 253, 276, 400, 518, 547, 559, 585, 608, 720. Of the unstarred listings Plantavit specifically says that he owned exemplars of 253, 518, 559, 585, 608 and 720. The other unstarred were listed in the Colbert sales catalogue.

⁵⁸ Paul Emile Henry, *François Bosquet Intendant de Guyenne et de Languedoc Évêque de Lodève et de Montpellier: Étude sur une Administration Civile et Ecclésiastique au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1889), 21, 269.

⁵⁹ *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae illustrissimi ac reverendissimi D. D. Caroli-Joachimi Colbert de Croissy, episcopi Montispessulani ...*, 2 vols. ([n. p.], 1740). Paris: Bibliothèque Arsenal, côte 8-H-24953 (1)–(2).

⁶⁰ Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca rabbinica*, no. 25.

⁶¹ Ibid., nos. 6, 13, 19, 22, 33, 41, 45 passim. Shifra Baruchson Arbib reported that the libraries of the four Mantua synagogues, whose contents were inventoried in 1595, held 76, 69, 35, 18, and 15 volumes respectively. Idem, *La Culture Livresque des Juifs d'Italie à la Fin de la Renaissance*, trans. Gabriel Roth (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2001), 225–230. Plantavit may have inadvertently provided complete inventories for two synagogue libraries in his book.

⁶² Ibid., nos. 81, 85, 89, 117, 123 passim.

⁶³ Ibid., 588–589, no. 305. Leone da Modena to Jean Plantavit de la Pause, [Venice, beginning of 1640], in: *Letters of Jews Through the Ages: From Biblical Times to the Middle of*

work on his bibliography by early 1639, when he sent a letter to Leon Modena and discussed his ambitious plans for a new Jewish bibliography, so Modena's listing probably was not a major source for Plantavit's work.⁶⁴

Plantavit's most unusual source, however, was produced not within the Jewish world, but at the behest of the Roman Inquisition: Domenico Gerosolimitano's *Sefer ha-Ziquq*.⁶⁵ Domenico wrote it as a censorship manual, but he also listed many books that found inoffensive.⁶⁶ For some books he listed offensive passages that were to be blotted out, either before printing or when printed copies were examined, in order to make the book acceptable.⁶⁷

Plantavit studied with Domenico in Rome around 1610, while his teacher also worked for the Roman Inquisition as a censor and expurgator of Jewish books.⁶⁸ He allowed Plantavit to consult a copy of a book, which the latter described as the "Roman expurgation index of rabbinic books ... instituted by the prefect of the Holy Inquisition."⁶⁹ Elsewhere Plantavit identified Domenico as its author.⁷⁰ This description fits Domenico's *Sefer ha-Ziquq*; perhaps Plantavit was allowed to consult Ms Vat ebr 273, which

the Eighteenth Century, ed. Franz Kobler, 2 vols. (New York: East and West Library, 1954), 2: 423–426. See also Cecil Roth, "Leone da Modena and the Christian Hebraists of His Age," in: *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, ed. Alexander Kohut (1927; reprint; New York: Arno, 1980), 384–401, here 389.

⁶⁴ Leon Modena to Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Venice, beginning of 1640, in: *Letters of Jews Through the Ages*, 2: 423–425, here 424.

⁶⁵ On Domenico's life and work, see Shifra Baruchson-Arbib and Gila Prebor, "Sefer Ha-Ziquq (An Index of Forbidden Hebrew Books): the Book's Use and its Influence on Hebrew Printing," *La Bibliofilia: Rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia* 109 (2007): 3–31.

⁶⁶ For example, Plantavit de la Pause wrote: "Exemplar, quod prae manibus habemus, dono olim accepimus ab eruditissimo Dominico Hierosolymitano Is autem ille est, qui Indicem expurgatorium librorum Rabbinicorum toties à nobis memoratum sacri palatii Magistri auctoritate asseruabat, & Censoris eorundem librorum officio fungebatur, quique illius, quoties opus erat, nobis compam faciebat." *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, 636, no. 748.

⁶⁷ Raz-Krakovitzkin printed Domenico's rules of expurgation in: *The censor, the editor, and the text: the Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Jackie Feldman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 121–123.

⁶⁸ Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, 636. On the relationship between the Master of the Sacred Palace and the Roman Inquisition, which was responsible for censorship and expurgation of books within the Papal States, see Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 8–9.

⁶⁹ See also Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca*, no. 60.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 636, no. 748. Plantavit wrote, "Exemplar [*Tahchemoni* of R. Judah Harizi], quod prae minibus habemus, dono olim accepimus ab eruditissimo Dominico Hierosolymitano Is autem aille est, qui Indicem expurgatorium librorum Rabbinicorum toties à nobis memoratum sacri palatii Magistri auctoritate asseruabat, & Censoris eorundem librorum officio fungebat, quinque illius, quoties opus erat nobis copiam faciebat."

Prebor has identified as Domenico's own copy.⁷¹ Plantavit cited *Sefer ha-Ziquq* no fewer than forty-three times. Many of these citations were mere bibliographic references; ms Vat. ebr. 273 listed no fewer than 476 printed books.⁷² Plantavit's remarks on fifteen books indicated that they had been expurgated in places to make them acceptable, heavily expurgated in the case of Joseph Albo's *Ikkarim*.⁷³ In three cases, *Sefer Ma'amar ha-Achadiyuth*, *Sefer Nizzahon*, and *Raziel ha-Gadol*, Plantavit informed his readers that they had been banned by the Roman Inquisition.⁷⁴ None of these books were so noted in the Roman Indexes, before or after 1600. Plantavit's intention was apparently to prevent Catholics from reading certain books at all, while in other cases to put readers on their guard that the books were potentially dangerous. While the Buxtorfs warned their readers that particular authors or books such as *Sefer Nizzahon* attacked Christianity, they did not admonish them not to read them.⁷⁵

Plantavit did surpass the first Buxtorf bibliography, since his work contained 780 numbered entries, and he mentioned 803 Jewish books, including 472 imprints and twenty-seven books in manuscript as well as 186 author-title citations and 103 listings of titles alone. He also listed forty-six books by Christian Hebraists and an Arabic imprint of Euclid.⁷⁶ Buxtorf, by contrast, provided only 324 entries for a total of 408 books.⁷⁷ Sadly for Plantavit, however, the younger Johannes Buxtorf beat him to the punch by publishing the second edition of his father's *Bibliotheca rabbinica* in 1640, five years before his own work appeared. Not only was it far larger than Plantavit's bibliography, with information on more than a thousand Jewish books and manuscripts, but it was also printed in a substantially cheaper octavo edition. While Plantavit could conceivably have

⁷¹ Quoted by Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text*, 253 n. 1. Plantavit, however, did not indicate the one book that Domenico condemned, and mentioned three other Jewish books condemned by the Roman Inquisition that were not so indicated in Ms Vat ebr. 273. On Domenicos' one condemnation see Baruchson-Arbib and Prebor, "Sefer Ha-Ziquq," 9 n. 10.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 5.

⁷³ Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, nos. 32, 55, 60, 76, 87, 194, 261, 279, 310, 331, 402, 524 (Albo), 597, 700, 730.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 308, 452, and 642. The Talmud of course (750) had been banned as well, but it was publicly banned through the Roman Index. Of the three books only the first is listed in Ms Vat ebr. 273, and Domenico made no mention of the book being banned. He only provided four corrections to it. Gila Prebor, "Sefer ha-Ziquq of Domenico Yerushalmi," *Italia* 18 (2008): 7–296 [Hebrew], here 233 (entry no. 315).

⁷⁵ Johannes Buxtorf, *De Abbreviaturis* (1613), 311.

⁷⁶ Plantavit also had six cross references, one genre entry and a reference to a manuscript translation of Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* made in Venice.

⁷⁷ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, 155–167.

incorporated the new information into his own bibliography, it appears that he did not do so. To examine the most obvious point of comparison, Buxtorf printed a separate list of 287 printed books and manuscripts at the end of his *Bibliotheca* that Jacob Roman sent to him from Constantinople. Plantavit mentioned only thirty-one of them, and he owned copies of five of these works.⁷⁸

Table 4.5. Comparison of Plantavit with Buxtorf bibliographies

Bibliography	Buxtorf and Roman		
	Buxtorf 1613	(1640)	Plantavit (1645)
Jewish Imprints	160	540	472
Jewish Mss	4	168	42
Author Title	134	245	186
Title Only	70	110	103
Total Jewish Titles	400	1063	803

Table 4.6. Provenance of Plantavit imprints compared with the Buxtorf bibliographies

Provenance	Buxtorf (1613)	Buxtorf-Roman (1640)	Plantavit (1645)
Italy	88	304	306
Poland	20	72	43
HR Empire	17	50	27
Swiss	12	24	13
Confederation			
Ottoman Empire	2	67	73
Dutch Republic	0	1	0
No Place given	21	22	11
Total	160	540	473

While he provided more titles than Buxtorf the younger alone did, the additional list of titles provided by Jacob Roman made Buxtorf's work much more comprehensive.

Plantavit's pool of imprints reflects his studies in Italy with its large book market and more direct access to the Middle East.

⁷⁸ Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca Rabbinnica*, nos. 213, 280, 292, 607, 759.

How substantial were the bibliographies of Buxtorf II and Plantavit? Their works shared a common core of titles. About 450 of Buxtorf's titles (57.6%) appear in Plantavit, and each of them lists titles that do not appear in the other work. Combining the lists of imprints, author-title entries and author entries for both books only 1206 books appear, perhaps 31% of the Jewish books that had appeared in print by 1639 according to Vinograd.

If we consider Plantavit's *Bibliotheca* as an indicator of the growth of Catholic Hebraism rather than as a universal Jewish bibliography, a rather different picture emerges. Catholic Hebraism was far more dependent upon "outsiders" of various kinds for its vitality and growth than the Reformed or Lutheran varieties were. Jewish converts such as Domenico Gerosolimitano played a key role not only in expurgating Jewish books and manuscripts but also in providing Hebrew instruction and other services. In 1608, Domenico purchased two chests of Hebrew books and manuscripts for Cardinal Borromeo on a purchasing trip to Corfu.⁷⁹ Maronite Catholics living in Rome, such as Plantavit's old instructor Gabriel Sionita, taught both Syriac and Arabic at Rome's universities. Growing expertise in these other Semitic languages would ultimately broaden the field of biblical studies, and would have an impact upon Catholic diplomacy and mission work in the Middle East. Protestant renegades such as Plantavit himself and his contemporary Jean Morin added a personal polemical edge to their work as they berated their ignorant Reformed former brethren for their errors in scholarship and understanding.

Personal Collections of Judaica

The bibliographies of Gesner, the Buxtorfs and Plantavit reflect a growing awareness of Jewish printed books and manuscripts among Christian Hebraists. Their bibliographies were based to a large extent upon the authors' private libraries or of their acquaintances and professional colleagues, rather than on princely collections. The personal collections of Christian Hebraists, together with the often meager holdings of city and university libraries, supported most Christian Hebraist study of Jewish texts that took place during the Reformation era.

⁷⁹ Aldo Luzzatto, *Hebraica Ambrosiana; Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosiana Library* (Edizioni il Polifilo, 1972), 4.

Throughout the Reformation era most scholars were obliged to purchase or borrow the books that they needed to pursue scholarship. Most German university libraries were relatively small and were often composed of the collections of deceased members of their faculty.⁸⁰ There were a few notable Judaica collections in English and Dutch libraries, which profited not only from patronage but also more regular funding. Noble or ecclesiastical libraries such as the Oratorian library in Paris rather than college libraries supported French Hebraist scholarship.⁸¹ While the acquisition of outstanding collections of manuscripts and books owned and annotated by Hebraists such as Joseph Scaliger (Leiden UB) or John Selden (Bodleian library) could establish the reputation of a university library, it was far more usual for university or city libraries to contain only a meager number of Jewish books. A library might receive a few monumental books through donations but as a rule scholars had to provide for their own needs.⁸² Hence an idea of which Jewish books (if any) individual Hebraists were likely to own is critically important for understanding their work.

Table 4.7. Size of private Judaica collections⁸³

Owner	Jewish Imprints	Jewish Manuscripts	Total
Selden, John	447	21	468
Buxtorf II, Johannes	303	9	312
Plantavit de la Pause, Jean	189	36	225
Widmanstetter, Johann Albrecht	73	137	210
Erpenius, Thomas	122	13	135

(Continued)

⁸⁰ William Clark, *Academic Charisma and the Origins of the Research University* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 298–302.

⁸¹ In 1798, there were only four central university libraries in all of France: Caen, Douai, Paris, and Strasbourg, although individual colleges within universities had them. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, “Management and Resources,” in: *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2: *Universities in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 155–209, here 196.

⁸² Buzás, *German Library History*, 178.

⁸³ On the library inventories of Erpenius, Bourdelot, L’Empereur, Scaliger, Coddæus, Casaubon, Bullioud, Drusius, Siegel, Pappus, Petit, Sennert, and Mornay, see below, chap. 6. Gomar: *Catalogus Librorum Reverendi atque eximii Theologi D. Francisci Gomari*

Table 4.7. (Cont.)

Owner	Jewish Imprints	Jewish Manuscripts	Total
Bourdelot, Jean	97	38	135
L'Empereur, Constantine	100	3	103
Scaliger, Joseph	54	18	72
Coddaeus, Guilielmus	51	0	51
Casaubon, Isaac	41	6	47
Bullioud, Pierre	36	1	37
Gomarus, Franciscus	36	1	37
Dieu, Louis de	33	0	33
Drusius, Johannes	31	0	31
Siegel, Georg	31	0	31
Pappus, Johannes	27	0	27
Reuchlin, Johannes	9	17	26
Petit, Samuel	16	4	20
Sennert, Andreas	7	0	7
Mornay, Philippe	5	0	5

The humble size of Sennert's and Mornay's libraries remind us that most Hebrew scholars probably owned no more than a few Hebrew books.⁸⁴

To try and characterize even one of these collections, let alone all twenty of them, is beyond the scope of this study, but it is possible to identify the most common books that are to be found in them. Thirty-eight Jewish books appear in at least a third (six) of these library inventories, and therefore are the books that Christian Hebraists were most likely to read and study.

That Hebraists should treasure Jewish Bible imprints and commentaries is no surprise, but their love of Rabbinic Bibles is striking.

(Leiden: Elzevir, 1641); Dieu: *Catalogus Variorum Librorum Bibliothecae Reverendi Clarissimique Viri D. Ludovici de Dieu* (Leiden: Elzevir, 1643); Reuchlin: Wolfgang von Abel and Reimund Leicht, ed. *Verzeichnis der Hebraica in der Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins*, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 9 (Ostfilden: Jan Thorbecke, 2005). On Plantavit, see above. Selden: R. Gerald Toomer, Unpublished Inventory of John Selden's Library, email of 16 December 2006. Buxtorf: comparison of the item numbers in Johann Ludwig Frey, "Index Librorum Buxtorfianorum Bibliothecae Publicae," Basel UB Ms AR I 31 with present day shelf numbers; Widmanstetter: Munich SB Cbm 37.

⁸⁴ Gareth Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 278–290.

BIBLES AND COMMENTARIES

Rabbinic Bible	15
Pentateuch	13
Hebrew Bible	9
Bahya b. Asher, On Torah	8
Levi b. Gerson, On Torah	8
Moses Nahmanides, On Torah	7
Isaac Abravanel, Latter Prophets	6

Nearly all of these scholars owned one Rabbinic Bible, and several of them, including the younger Buxtorf, Johannes Drusius, and John Selden, owned two. Catholic scholars such as Robert Bellarmine, Andreas Masius, and Agostino Steucho were as likely to use them as Protestants. Johannes Buxtorf's thoroughly censored "Christian" version of the Rabbinic Bible (Basel, 1618–19) only made it easier for Hebraists to own copies of their own.⁸⁵ The Pentateuch commentaries of Bahya b. Asher, Levi b. Gerson, and Moses Nahmanides were represented in these libraries. In addition to Abravanel's commentary on the minor prophets, several of his other works were to be found in these libraries.

Christian interest in Jewish biblical interpretation was also clear through the presence of a number of Midrash collections, including at the top of the list Midrash Rabba.

MIDRASH

<i>Midrash Rabba</i>	10
<i>Tanhuma</i>	7
<i>Yalkut Shimoni</i>	6
<i>Midrash Shmuel</i>	6

Christian use of Jewish resources in grammar and lexicography are quite predictable, as are the names of most of the authors.

GRAMMARS, DICTIONARIES AND CONCORDANCES

David Kimhi, <i>Shorashim</i>	16
David Kimhi, <i>Michlol</i>	13
Nathan b. Yehiel, <i>Aruk</i>	13

⁸⁵ Stephen G. Burnett, "The Strange Career of the Biblia Rabbinica among Christian Hebraists, 1517–1620," in: *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Matthew McLean and Bruce Gordon (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

Concordance	10
David de Pomis, <i>Zemah David</i>	10
Solomon Urbino, <i>Ohel Moed</i>	7
<i>Diqduqim</i> (Venice: Bomberg, 1546)	6

Since the works of David Kimhi formed the basis of most Christian works of similar genre, it is no surprise that his name figures prominently on this list. While a few of these scholars owned Jewish printings of Elias Levita's books, they mostly owned his works in Latin translation rather than in the original Hebrew. Nathan b. Yehiel's *Sefer Aruk* is also notable since it was the most important dictionary for post-biblical Jewish literature. David de Pomis's *Zemach David* was a widely used dictionary; Buxtorf the elder heavily annotated his copy, while Isaac Casaubon planned to use his as the basis for an Arabic dictionary.⁸⁶

Christian scholars sought to use Jewish historical literature to better understand both biblical history and post-biblical Judaism.

HISTORY

Abraham Zacuto, <i>Yuchasin</i>	11
<i>Seder olam rabba</i> or <i>zuta</i>	10
Joseph b. Gorion, <i>Yossipon</i>	6
Azariah de Rossi, <i>Meor Enayim</i>	6

Gilbert Générard famously translated the chronologies *Seder olam rabba* and *Seder olam zuta* into Latin, a work that was frequently reprinted. Azariah de Rossi's *Meor Enayim* was valued not only for its historical worth in general, but as his strong defense of the antiquity of the vowel points in the Hebrew Bible.⁸⁷ Christian Hebraists frequently cited both Abraham Zacuto's *Yuchasin* and Joseph ben Gorion's *Yossipon* in their works.

These Hebraists also acquired some notable halakic works and sources.

MISHNAH, TALMUD AND HALAKAH

Babylonian Talmud	12
Moses Maimonides, <i>Mishneh Torah</i>	11
Mishnah	9
Jerusalem Talmud	8

⁸⁶ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 128, and Grafton and Weinberg, *Holy Tongue*, 297, 299.

⁸⁷ Azariah de Rossi, *The Light of the Eyes*, trans. and ed. Joanna Weinberg (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 699–709.

Isaac Alfasi, <i>Halichot</i>	8
Joshua Ha-Levi, <i>Halichot Olam</i>	7
Jacob b. Asher, <i>Arba'a Turim</i>	6
<i>Col Bo</i>	6

The presence of Talmud sets in so many of these collections is striking, given how expensive they were to purchase. The elder Buxtorf spent the equivalent of a year or more of his salary to purchase a complete Babylonian Talmud.⁸⁸ Since Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah* was so widely quoted and even partially translated into Latin, its presence on this list is also no surprise. Some Christian Hebraists also consulted (or at least purchased) Isaac Alfasi's *Halichot* and Jacob b. Asher's *Arba'a Turim* as reference works on Jewish law. Wolfgang Capito cited both the *Mishneh Torah* and Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'a Turim* when he explained Jewish burial customs to Guillaume Farel in a letter he wrote in 1529.⁸⁹

Christian Hebraists also purchased other kinds of Jewish books, including the following.

OTHER

Prayer books (all varieties)	14
Moses Maimonides, <i>More Nebuchim</i>	13
Joseph Albo, <i>Ikkarim</i>	7
Bahya ibn Pekuda, <i>Duties of Heart</i>	7
Judah ha-Levi, <i>Kusari</i>	7
Benjamin of Tudela, <i>Itinerary</i>	6
Isaac Abravanel, <i>Miflaot Elohim</i>	6
<i>Zohar</i>	6

Maimonides' *Guide to the Perplexed* [*More Nebuchim*] had been known to Christian scholars in various Latin translations for centuries, but in 1629 the younger Buxtorf published a new Latin translation.⁹⁰ Joseph Albo's

⁸⁸ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 47. See also, Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden*, trans. J. C. Grayson, *Studies in the History of Leiden University* 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989), 92, and n. 133. As a professor of Hebrew at Leiden, L'Empereur was paid 600 Guilders a year.

⁸⁹ Wolfgang Capito to Guillaume Farel, Strasbourg, [before 10 May 1529], in: *The Correspondence of Wolfgang Capito*, vol. 2: 1524–1531, ed. and trans. Erika Rummel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 378–384, and notes 8, 11; no. 388.

⁹⁰ Moses Maimonides, *Doctor Plexorum*, trans. Johannes Buxtorf (Basel: König, 1629).

Ikkarim was a work of philosophy that contained one extremely polemical chapter directed against the Christian faith. Ibn Pekuda's *Duties of the Heart* fit well within the Christian humanist study of ethics. Jewish prayer books were studied both in the context of studies of prayer itself, and also for polemical purposes.⁹¹ Benjamin of Tudela's travel account was translated into Latin first by Benito Arias Montano and then by Constantine L'Empereur.⁹²

These commonly held Jewish books suggest Christian priorities for the study of Jewish texts. The biblical and philological emphasis of these Hebraist collections is hardly surprising, nor are these scholars' historical interests. The interest in Talmudic learning, however, is unusual, as are the number of Midrashic books, since Hebraists translated relatively few parts of either the Talmud or Midrash collections into Latin. The same can be said for Jewish prayer books. If less gifted Christian readers were to learn about the contents of these materials, they would be dependent upon descriptions of them as a part of larger books by Christian Hebraists. The *Zohar* is the only major kabbalistic source regularly present in these libraries, together with the Pentateuch commentaries of Bahya b. Asher and Nahmanides.

This selection of books is similar to books commonly owned by Mantuan Jews in 1595. Baruchson-Arbib reports that Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'a Turim*, and *Tanhuma* were among the among the most popular books, present in library collections of lay people and scholars alike. Scholarly collections, about 9% of the Mantua libraries, most commonly contained copies of Joseph Albo's *Sefer Ikkarim*, Judah ha-Levi's *Kusari*, Maimonides' *More Nebuchim*, and the *Zohar* (present in 70% of these collections). Tractates of the Talmud were not present because the work had been banned in Italy since 1553.⁹³ In early modern Poland, Jewish men commonly owned a daily prayer book (*Siddur*), a Pentateuch with Rashi's commentary, and tractates of the Talmud as well.⁹⁴ Yiddish-language books for women were popular in

⁹¹ Grafton and Weinberg, *Holy Tongue*, 42–59.

⁹² Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerarium Beniamini Tudelensis*, trans. Benito Arias Montano (Antwerp: Plantin, 1575), and idem, *Itinerarium*, trans. Constantine L'Empereur (Leiden: Elzevir, 1633).

⁹³ Shifra Z. Baruchson [-Arbib], "Jewish Libraries: Culture and Reading Interests in 16th Century Italy," *Library History* 10 (1994): 19–26, here 24.

⁹⁴ Moshe Rosman, "Innovative Tradition: Jewish Culture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," in: *Cultures of the Jews. A New History*, ed. David Biale (New York: Schocken, 2002), 519–570, here 552.

both Mantua and in Poland, but no Yiddish titles are among the most commonly held books in Christian Hebraist libraries. Most of these scholars apparently had little interest in women's literature, although some such as Johannes Buxtorf made extensive use of it.⁹⁵ Altogether ten of the thirty-four Jewish books that Christian Hebraists owned would probably have been readily available from Jewish booksellers. Hence these Christian Judaica collections also reflected the books that their owners could easily purchase.

University and Public Library Judaica Collections

Town and university libraries in Reformation-era Europe (above all in Protestant Europe) were intended to support scholars in a much more limited way than their counterparts would even in the eighteenth century. The purpose of a university library was not to make private collections unnecessary, but rather to aid scholars by providing large and fundamental works. In addition, they stocked old manuscripts and rare printed works as part of their "ornamental" purpose.⁹⁶ The largest three libraries considered here, the Bodleian Library, Leiden University Library, and Sion College, were not German and aspired to more comprehensive collections, but the Judaica holdings of all of the other institutions in this table, whether German or not, can best be understood in light of this generalization. Almost none of these institutions had regular acquisition budgets, and most often they grew by incorporating the libraries of former faculty either through purchase or donation. Rather than reflecting the current interests and needs of the Hebraists who worked with these collections, they tended to reflect the interests of the prior generation.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Baruchson [-Arbib], "Jewish Libraries," 25; Rosman, "Innovative Tradition," 552–553; Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 64–65.

⁹⁶ Buzás, *German Library History*, 178.

⁹⁷ Clark, *Academic Charisma*, 298–302. See also his discussion of the Bodleian Library on pp. 304–306, and Elfriede Hulshoff Pol, "The Library," in: *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*, ed. Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden: Universitaire Pers Leiden and E. J. Brill, 1975), 394–459.

Table 4.8. University or city library collections with ten or more Jewish imprints or manuscripts⁹⁸

Institution	Jewish Imprints	Jewish Manuscripts	Total	Major Contributor
Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1674	660	63	723	Selden
London: Sion College, 1650	178	0	178	George Walker ⁹⁹
Leiden UB, 1640	83	22	105	Scaliger ¹⁰⁰
Strasbourg Academy, 1575	47	0	47	Capito? ¹⁰¹
Altdorf UB, 1651	39	0	39	Siegel ¹⁰²
Geneva Academy, 1620	33	0	33	Vermigli ¹⁰³
Amsterdam City Library, 1648	32	0	32	
Vienna UB, 1623	9	22	31	Johannes Fabri ¹⁰⁴

(Continued)

⁹⁸ Thomas Hyde, *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae Bodlejanae in academia Oxoniensi* (Oxford: Sheldon, 1674); John Spencer, *Catalogus universalis librorum omnium in bibliotheca Collegii Sionii apud Londinenses* (London: Robert Leybourn, 1650); Daniel Heinsius, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Elsevir, 1640); Strasbourg: Capito, *Correspondence*, 2: 500–501; *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Amstelodamensis* (Amsterdam: de Wees, 1648) HAB M: Bb 32; Vienna UB: Arthur Zacharias Schwarz, *Die hebräische Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1925), XII; *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae, quae est in illustrium Frisiae Ordinum Academia Franekerana* (Franeker: Alberti, 1656), Berlin SB Sig. 4" Az 33161; Basel UB: Ms AR I 18; Andreas Sennert, *Bibliothecae Academiae Witebergensis Publicae Librorum* (Wittenberg: Wilck, 1678). I have reconstructed the Altdorf Hebraica collection on the basis of Erlangen UB Sig. Ms 2437, f. 323–325, supplemented by Ms 2436, 190r–193v.

⁹⁹ George Walker was the rector of St. John the Evangelist Parish in London, and he purchased 101 Jewish imprints from book seller John Fetherstone for the library in the name of his congregation. Julian Roberts and G. J. Toomer, "The Fetherstone Catalogue of Hebrew Books," *Bodleian Library Record* 19/1 (2006): 47–76, here 48, 54 n. 5.

¹⁰⁰ Leiden UB received seventy-two of its 105 Judaica works through the Scaliger bequest.

¹⁰¹ While the evidence is not conclusive, it appears that many of the Judaica books in the Strasbourg academy library originally belonged to Capito. Capito, *Correspondence*, 2: 499–500.

¹⁰² G. Werner and E. Schmidt Herring, *Die Bibliotheken der Universität Altdorf, Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 69 (1937; reprint: Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprints, 1968), 4–5.

¹⁰³ Alexandre Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin, Études de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 13 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1969), 1.

¹⁰⁴ Leo Helbling, *Dr. Johann Fabri Generalvikar von Konstanz und Bischof von Wien 1478–1541*, *Reformationgeschichtliche Studien und Texte* 67/68 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1941).

Table 4.8. (Cont.)

Franeker UB, 1656	29	1	30	Drusius Amama
Basel UB, 1625	15	0	15	Borrhaus ¹⁰⁵
Jena UB, 1635	13	1	14	Elector Johann Friedrich
Wittenberg UB, 1678	11	0	11	Sennert

The Bodleian Library's Judaica collection was exceptional in both its size and scope. Thomas Bodley, its first director, was able to prevail upon noble patrons throughout England to contribute to the library.¹⁰⁶ By 1629, the collection had perhaps 160 Jewish manuscripts and printed books.¹⁰⁷ The library continued to grow, largely thanks to generous donations. Archbishop Laud gave the Bodleian library forty-seven Hebrew manuscripts between 1635 and 1640, among the thousand manuscripts that he donated.¹⁰⁸ In 1654, the Bodleian Library received John Selden's enormous collection of twenty-one Jewish manuscripts and 447 Jewish books that he bequeathed to it in his will.¹⁰⁹ By adding the Selden collection, the Bodleian became the largest Judaica library in Europe.

Given their usual means of book acquisition, it is no surprise to find that the collections of public and university libraries closely resemble those of the private libraries we have considered. I have listed only titles that appeared in at least three of the twelve collections considered here.

Whether in response to the needs of scholars or the limitations of the acquisition process, the common holdings of these institutional libraries share a common profile with private collections, providing crucial information on the sorts of Jewish books that Christian Hebraists were most likely to use in their work.

¹⁰⁵ Basel UB also benefited from the generosity of its printers who donated copies of a number of the books that they printed. Andreas Heusler, *Geschichte der Öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel* (Basel: Universitätsbuchdruckerei von Fr. Reinhardt, 1896), 5–7.

¹⁰⁶ Schaeper, "That the Titles of all your Hebrew Bookes May Be Aptly Taken", 84.

¹⁰⁷ Wheeler, "Bibliotheca Rabbinica," 145.

¹⁰⁸ Colin Wakefield, "Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: The Seventeenth-Century Collections," in: *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. G. A. Russell (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 128–146, here 130.

¹⁰⁹ Philip, *Bodleian Library*, 47–48. R. Gerald Toomer, Unpublished Inventory of John Selden's Library, email of 16 December 2006.

Table 4.9. Profile of library holdings by subject

Classes of Books	Holdings
BIBLES AND COMMENTARIES	
Rabbinic Bible	8
Hebrew Bible	7
Pentateuch	5
Levi b. Gerson, <i>Torah Commentary</i>	5
Bahya b. Asher, <i>Torah Commentary</i>	4
Abraham Saba, <i>Zeror ha-Mor</i>	3
MIDRASH	
Isaac Aboab, <i>Menorat ha-Moar</i>	3
<i>Mechilta</i>	3
<i>Tanhuma</i>	3
GRAMMARS, DICTIONARIES AND CONCORDANCES	
Nathan b. Yehiel, <i>Aruk</i>	8
Concordance	5
David Kimhi, <i>Shorashim</i>	5
David de Pomis, <i>Zemach David</i>	4
David Kimhi, <i>Michlol</i>	3
HISTORY	
<i>Seder olam rabba</i> or <i>zuta</i>	4
Joseph ben Gorion, <i>Yossipon</i>	3
MISHNAH, TALMUD AND HALAKAH	
Babylonian Talmud	10
Moses Maimonides, <i>Mishneh Torah</i>	7
Moses of Coucy, <i>Sefer Mizvot ha-Gadol</i>	4
Jerusalem Talmud	4
Isaac Alfasi, <i>Halachot</i>	3
Jacob b. Asher, <i>Arba'a Turim</i>	3
Aaron Levi Barcelona, <i>Hinnuch</i>	3
OTHER	
Prayer books (all varieties)	6
Joseph Albo, <i>Ikkarim</i>	4
Moses Maimonides, <i>More Nebuchim</i>	4
Bahya ibn Pekuda, <i>Duties of the Heart</i>	3
Judah ha-Levi, <i>Kusari</i>	3
<i>Zohar</i>	3

Preconfessional Noble Collections (1501–1560)

Between 1501 and 1560, the Hebraica collections of aristocratic libraries were relatively small and served more to impress visitors than to support scholarship. Only a handful of them contained a substantial number of Jewish manuscripts or printed books. The earliest of these belonged to Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who purchased Pico's library of 1200 manuscripts (including 124 Hebrew codices) from his heirs in 1498.¹¹⁰ By the year of Grimani's death in 1524, his Hebraica collection had grown to 193 works; only five of them were printed books. Reuchlin's *De Rudimenta* was the only Christian Hebrew book in Grimani's library.¹¹¹ Since Grimani was not a Hebraist and he was notoriously protective of his collection, seldom lending out his treasures to scholars, he probably used his Hebrew books more for display than for any other reason. He certainly impressed Erasmus by showing him the more exotic parts of the collection when the latter visited his library in 1509.¹¹² In an effort to protect his collection from damage and thieves, Grimani willed half of it to his nephew Marin, and the other half, which included all of his Hebraica, to the Augustinian monastery of Sant'Antonio di Castello in Venice. In his will he allocated 1000 ducats to build a library to house these treasures. At least two Venetian Hebraists, Agostino Steucho and Francesco Giorgio, were able to profit from Grimani's collection in its new home while preparing their own books on the Hebrew Bible and Kabbalah. Grimani's library would ultimately suffer a cruel fate. Within a few years, thieves (or perhaps, the monks themselves) began to slowly ghost away Grimani's valuable manuscripts. Among the beneficiaries of these thefts were the libraries of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé, the French ambassador to Venice (1561–63), and Johann Jacob Fugger.¹¹³ By 1650 only a thousand of the original eight thousand strong collection of Grimani remained, and a fire destroyed the library itself in 1687.¹¹⁴

The other major noble Judaica collections dating from before 1560 were the libraries of Cardinal Egidio di Viterbo, the two Fuggers, Johann Jacob

¹¹⁰ M. C. J. Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 57 (1974): 128–166 149.

¹¹¹ Giuliano Tamani, "I libri ebraici del cardinal Domenico Grimani," *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 24/3 (1995): 5–52, here 13.

¹¹² Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries," 149, n. 4.

¹¹³ S. M. Schiller-Szinessy, *Occasional Notices of Hebrew Manuscripts*, no. 1: *Description of the Leyden MS. Of the Palestinian Talmud* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1878), 15.

¹¹⁴ Lowry, "Two Great Venetian Libraries," 152.

and Ulrich, and the Medici family collection. Viterbo's collection was created to support the research and interests of its owner. Cardinal Viterbo assembled a monumental Hebraica collection in Rome during the early sixteenth century. After he was appointed vicar general of the Augustinian order by Pope Julius II in June of 1506, Viterbo was able to use his international contacts and the money at his disposal to build an impressive library of books in Hebrew and oriental languages as well as in the classical languages. He told fellow Augustinian Caspar Amman in a letter that he valued Hebrew manuscripts "above treasures, riches, and kingdoms."¹¹⁵ Viterbo's library in Rome was dispersed or destroyed during the Sack of 1527, but enough of it survives to give an idea of its scope. The rarest of his treasures is the sole surviving copy of the Jerusalem Targum, Codex Neofiti I, which Egidio had copied in 1504. Between 1513 and 1515 Egidio sought to purchase a copy of the *Zohar*, employing a fellow Augustinian brother in Syria to search on his behalf. His own unpublished works and the marginal notations in his manuscripts serve to confirm H. G. Enelow's contention that "There is scarcely a classic of Jewish medieval mysticism that he [Egidio] has not translated, annotated or commented on."¹¹⁶ Unfortunately the remainder of his collection was divided up at his death, although the Medicis acquired much of it.¹¹⁷

Johann Jacob Fugger and his brother Ulrich each created grand libraries with substantial numbers of Hebrew books and manuscripts. They sought to imitate Italian nobles by patronizing scholars and, at least in the case of Johann Jacob, creating an impressive spectacle. They both had financial resources at their disposal beyond the dreams of most collectors and a network of business representatives and agents, above all in Venice, to fulfill their goals. Their agents included David Ott and Nicholas Stoppius, the latter a former employee of the printer Daniel Bomberg.¹¹⁸

Johann Jacob Fugger's collection was the more impressive of the two in aesthetic presentation, if not in sheer numbers. He benefited

¹¹⁵ Egidio da Viterbo to Caspar Amman, 15 December 1513, quoted and translated by Francis X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo, 1469–1532* (Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1992), 163.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 160, 163.

¹¹⁷ Astruc and Monfrin, "Livres Latins," 551. On the library's fate, see John W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 16.

¹¹⁸ Jacob ben Hayyim praised Bomberg's willingness to seek out masoretic manuscripts to support his work on the masoras for the second printing of the Rabbinic Bible. *Jacob ben Chajim ibn Adonijah's Introduction to the Rabbinical Bible, Hebrew and English with Explanatory Notes*, ed. and trans. Christian David Ginsburg (New York: KTAV, 1968), 77.

substantially from the looting of Cardinal Grimani's old library, gaining twelve Hebrew manuscripts from it.¹¹⁹ He acquired another eight Hebrew manuscripts by purchasing Heinrich Schedel's library in 1552.¹²⁰ He was badly cheated by several Jewish scribes in Venice, who produced poor copies of thirty to forty manuscripts for Fugger, who of course could not judge the quality of their work.¹²¹ In all Johann Jacob Fugger's Hebrew collection contained at least 101 Hebrew manuscripts and thirteen Jewish printed books. Judging from the colophon dates of the manuscripts that he had copied, Fugger apparently acquired most of his Judaica between 1548 and 1553.¹²² Once these Hebrew books and manuscripts arrived in Augsburg, Fugger had them bound in green leather, to distinguish them from books in other languages, and then had them catalogued. Thomas von Löwen and Sixtus Birk provided each book or manuscript with a Latin title and then inscribed it on the cover.¹²³ In 1566, Fugger's librarian Wolfgang Prommer hired a Jew to copy the Hebrew titles of each book or manuscript into the shelf list.¹²⁴

Ulrich Fugger's library was no less impressive than his brother's. He too sought out Hebrew books and manuscripts, using the Fugger family network of agents to do so. Of the 177 Hebrew manuscripts in his collection by the time of his death in 1584, the vast majority belonged to Rabbi Elia Capsali of Candia in Crete, with smaller numbers from the library of Giannozzo Manetti (1369–1459) and six others produced in Germany.¹²⁵ Between 1546 and 1553 he spent an estimated 126,000 Gulden to build his library.¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Munich SB Hebrew manuscript nos. 43, 79, 80, 121, 209, 233, 267, 268, 278, 342, 385, 402.

¹²⁰ Lehman, *Fuggerbibliotheken*, 1: 55.

¹²¹ Collette Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, trans. Nicholas de Lange (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 211.

¹²² Lehrman, *Fuggerbibliotheken*, 1: 65.

¹²³ Michele Zelinsky Hanson, *Religious Identity in an Early Reformation Community: Augsburg 1517 to 1555*, Studies in Central European Histories 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 200–201.

¹²⁴ Otto Hartig, *Die Gründung der Münchener Hofbibliothek durch Albrecht V und Johann Jakob Fugger* (München: Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917), 320.

¹²⁵ Elmar Mittler, et al., *Bibliotheca Palatina. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986 Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg, Textband* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1986), 87.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 369. On the size of Ulrich Fugger's manuscript collection, see Delio Vania Proverbio, "Historical Introduction," in: *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library Catalogue*, ed. Benjamin Richler et. al. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), xv–xxiii, here xvii and n. 26.

The last of the great pre-confessional collections was created by the Medicis of Florence, above all by Grand Duke Cosimo I (1519–1574). The first Hebrew manuscript in the family collection was recorded in the 1495 inventory, a Hebrew Bible.¹²⁷ Recent research by Nurit Pasternak has revealed that this manuscript was only one of a number of sumptuous Jewish manuscripts that were commissioned by various members of the Medici family.¹²⁸ After 1534, Grand Duke Cosimo I greatly expanded the overall collection by expropriating books from other libraries, including the San Marco Library of Florence, by new purchases, and by encouraging scholars to donate their books.¹²⁹ By the time that the Medicea Laurenziana library building was completed in 1571, the Medici Hebrew library had grown considerably and had become one of the great collections of Europe. The first inventory of the library, completed in 1589, reveals that it held one hundred and twenty-six Jewish manuscripts and sixty-one Jewish printed books.¹³⁰ It is unique among these early Hebraica collections in that it is the only one to survive intact in its original setting, a library building designed by Michelangelo.

Noble Libraries in the Confessional Age (1561–1660)

The great Hebraica collections that were created after 1560 continued to fulfill the traditional goals of princes, displaying their wealth and supporting scholars to increase their honor. They also served as instruments of power, functioning as theological “arsenals” to support scholars seeking to uphold the official confession of their countries and to damage the credibility of their opponents. In the longer term, these collections would become fundamentally important for the emergence and vitality of academic Jewish studies in the nineteenth century.

¹²⁷ E. Piccolomini, “Inventario della libreria Medicea privata compilato nel 1495,” *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Ser. 3, T. 20 (1874): 51–94, here 92.

¹²⁸ Nurit Pasternak, “Hebrew Hand-Written Books as Testimonies to Christian-Jewish Contacts in Quattrocento Florence,” in: *L’interculturalità dell’ebraismo*, ed. Mauro Perani (Ravenna: Longo Editore, 2004), 161–171, and idem, “A Meeting Point of Hebrew and Latin Manuscript Production: A Fifteenth Century Florentine Hebrew Scribe: Isaac Ben Ovadia of Forlì,” *Scrittura e civiltà* 25 (2001): 185–200.

¹²⁹ Berthold L. Ullmann and Philip A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de’ Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padova: Editrice Antenore, 1972), 47–49.

¹³⁰ The inventory of Rondinelli and Valori of 1589 is published in Ben Nicholson, *Thinking the Unthinkable House* (Chicago: Renaissance Society at the University of Chicago, 1997).

Table 4.10. Judaica collections in noble libraries¹³¹

Library	Collection Size	Jewish Manuscripts	Jewish Imprints	Judaica Total
Mazarin Paris 1662	40,000	102 ¹³²	501	603
Vatican 1651	24,927	432	134	566
Munich Court 1618	18,046	205	341	546
Richelieu Paris 1643	6,385	350	74	424
Oratorian Paris 1667	6,000+	181	159	340
Vienna Court 1652	80,000	2	325	327
Milan: Ambrosian 1651–1655	45,000	92	233	325
Heldelberg Palatine 1622	8,000	261	11	272
Medici Florence 1589	3,000	126	61	187
El Escorial 1671	18,000	110	59	169
Barberini Rome 1681	30,000	13*	88	101

Surprisingly the library of Duke August the Younger of Braunschweig-Lüneburg is missing from this list. Although he owned the largest library in Europe by 1660, he only became interested in Judaica in the last decade of his life. When he died in 1666, his collection contained only seven Jewish manuscripts and seventeen Jewish printed books.¹³³

¹³¹ Published library catalogues: *Index Bibliothecae qua Franciscus Barberinus S. R. E. Cardinalis Vice Cancellarius Magnificentissimas suae Familiae ad Quirinalem Aedes Magnificentiores Reddidit*, 3 vols. (Rome: Barberinis; exc. Michael Hercules, 1681); Elmar Mittler, ed. *Bibliotheca Palatina: Druckschriften-Stampati Palatini-Printed books; Katalog zur Mikrofiche-Ausgabe* (München : Saur, 1999); Nicholson, *Thinking the Unthinkable House*; manuscript inventories: Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine Mss 4098–4100 [Bibliothèque mazarine]; Rome: Vatican Library, Ms Vat lat 13196 [Vatican Library]; Milan: Ambrosian Library, Ms Z 41 inf, and Ms Z 33 inf; Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Ms. Cbm Cat 37 and Cbm Cat. 36; Paris: BN Ms Hebreu no. 1295 [Oratorian Library]; Paris: BN Ms Lat 10,394 and Ms Lat 15,466 [Richelieu]; Vienna: Austrian National Library Ms 13,555 [Hofbibliothek]; Vienna: Austrian National Library Ms 9478 [El Escorial].

¹³² On the number of Hebrew manuscripts in the Bibliothèque mazarine, see Bertram Eugene Schwarzbach, “Les Hebraica du Cardinal Mazarin,” in: *Mazarin Les Lettres et les Arts*, ed. Isabelle de Conihout and Patrick Michel (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine/Éditions Monelle Hayot, 2006), 307–316, here 308.

¹³³ To determine this figure I used Philipp Ehrenburg’s catalogue of the 400 or so Hebrew books recorded in his unpublished bibliography of Hebrew books in the Herzog August Bibliothek (Ms. Cod. Guelf BA I 497) and the Bible catalogue (Ms. Cod. Guelf BA I 480 [1670]), and dated them using the alphabetic register of the library and the shelflist catalogue item numbers. “Alphabetischer Kurztitelkatalog zum Standortkatalogs Akzessionsverzeichnis” (Zeughaus Handbibliothek, Sig. KA 00–0125).

Since one of the purposes of these collections was to support research in Judaica, it is not surprising that they usually stocked the same kinds of books that individual Hebraists or institutional libraries owned. Table 4.11 lists titles that were held by at least three of the nine libraries.

Table 4.11. Profile of the holdings of noble libraries

Categories of Books	Holdings
BIBLES AND COMMENTARIES	
Pentateuch	10
Levi b. Gerson, <i>Torah Commentary</i>	9
Bahya b. Asher, <i>Torah Commentary</i>	8
Abraham Saba, <i>Zeror ha-Mor</i>	8
Hebrew Bible	7
Rabbinic Bible	6
MIDRASH	
Isaac Aboab, <i>Menorat ha-Moar</i>	5
<i>Tanhuma</i>	5
GRAMMARS, DICTIONARIES AND CONCORDANCES	
Concordance	7
David Kimhi, <i>Michlol</i>	7
David Kimhi, <i>Shorashim</i>	5
David de Pomis, <i>Zemach David</i>	3
History	
Joseph ben Gorion, <i>Yossipon</i>	5
<i>Seder olam rabba</i> or <i>zuta</i>	4
MISHNAH, TALMUD AND HALAKAH	
Babylonian Talmud	9
Moses Maimonides, <i>Mishneh Torah</i>	6
Jerusalem Talmud	5
Jacob b. Asher, <i>Arba'a Turim</i>	5
Isaac Alfasi, <i>Halachot</i>	3
OTHER	
Prayer books (all varieties)	10
Moses Maimonides, <i>More Nebuchim</i>	6
Joseph Albo, <i>Ikkarim</i>	6
<i>Zohar</i>	6
Judah ha-Levi, <i>Kusari</i>	5
Bahya ibn Pekudah, <i>Duties of the Heart</i>	3

Although all of these libraries except the Palatine Library in Heidelberg were maintained by Catholic noblemen, churchmen or institutions, they were apparently exempt from the demands of the Roman Inquisition that the Talmud and other banned books be destroyed rather than preserved.

Creating large libraries, including large Judaica collections, continued to serve the interests of princes as a form of display and cultural policy during the confessional era, as it had earlier. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria founded the Bavarian Court Library in 1558 after he purchased the library of Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter.¹³⁴ According to imperial vice-chancellor Sigmund Seld, the duke sought to build a collection to rival the libraries of the Popes, the Kings of France, the Medicis and the Counts of the Palatinate.¹³⁵ He had an impressive cultural complex built onto his palace in Munich between 1568–1570, featuring the *Antiquarium*, a sculpture gallery on the ground floor, and a library on the second floor. When he purchased Johann Jacob Fugger's collection in 1571, he had a ready-made treasure to further adorn his court and to display in his library. By creating such an enormous facility and collection, Duke Albrecht invited comparison between his court library and both the newly completed Medicea Laurenziana and the El Escorial libraries.¹³⁶ King Philip II of Spain sought to use the El Escorial Library in a similar fashion. The edifice was itself a work of art that served not only as his palace but also as a monastery, royal mausoleum, and library of European rank.¹³⁷ The new Vatican library building, constructed between 1585–1590 by order of Pope Sixtus IV, was intended to impress as well as to house books.¹³⁸

These great collections were intended not only for show but also to support scholarship. The Palatine Library of Heidelberg had rather generous lending policies, allowing Johannes Buxtorf the elder to borrow a Masora manuscript, which remains to this day in the Basel university

¹³⁴ Hans Striedl, "Die Bücherei des Orientalisten Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter," in: *Serta Monacensia. Franz Babinger zur 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss Dargebracht*, ed. Hans Joachim Kissling and Alois Schmaus (Leiden: Brill, 1951), 200–244.

¹³⁵ Hartig, *Gründung*, 11, 15.

¹³⁶ Franz Georg Kaltwasser, *Die Bibliothek als Museum. Von der Renaissance bis heute, dargestellt am Beispiel der Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 15–23, 95–98 on the edifice.

¹³⁷ George Kubler, *Building the Escorial* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 12–28. On Philip's library-building plans, see Michael J. Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 189.

¹³⁸ Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI: Recherches sur l'Histoire des Collections de Manuscrits* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973), 71–73.

collection.¹³⁹ Isaac Casaubon, Peter Kirsten, Thomas Erpenius, and Sebastian Tenggengel were able to borrow Arabic manuscripts from Heidelberg.¹⁴⁰ In 1601, Hebraist Elias Hutter of Nuremberg borrowed seven books from the court library of Vienna.¹⁴¹ The Vatican library too was willing under certain circumstances to lend books and manuscripts, though the heaviest users of its oriental collections were Arabic scholars associated with the Maronite college rather than Hebraists.¹⁴²

Noble libraries also supported the work of theological polemicists, Protestant and Catholic alike. Count Ottheinrich of the Palatinate, the founder of the Palatine Library of Heidelberg, invested in Hebrew, Greek and even Arabic manuscripts that he could not read for the benefit of the clergy of his domains who would need such works in order to defend the faith. For Ottheinrich and for other Reformation-era princes, libraries were, in Wolfgang Metzger's phrasing, to be spiritual strongholds for the learned and arsenals for the spread of the Reformation.¹⁴³ The Oratorian Library in Paris, founded by Achille de Harlay de Sancy, a French noble turned Oratorian, supported the polemical work of Jean Morin through its exotic manuscript holdings, including a rare copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch.¹⁴⁴ Cardinal Federico Borromeo envisioned the Ambrosian Library as a study center, and he hired curators to use and to build his collections, including the Judaica collection.¹⁴⁵ From a somewhat broader perspective, possessing Jewish books and manuscripts was part of a larger program of library building that could provide rulers with the information

¹³⁹ Cassuto, *I manoscritti palatini ebraici*, 59; Basel UB, Ms A III 1.

¹⁴⁰ Alastair Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist, 1563–1632* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 16.

¹⁴¹ Josef Stummvoll, ed. *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, erster Teil: *Die Hofbibliothek (1368–1922)* (Wien: Georg Prachner, 1968), 99.

¹⁴² Christine M. Gräfinger, *Die Ausleihe Vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke (1563–1700)* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993), 31, 78–81, 125, 136, 205, 207–208, 257, 345, 354, 368, 371, 448, 478, 486–490, 529.

¹⁴³ Wolfgang Metzger, "Ein recht fürstliches Geschäft": Die Bibliothek Ottheinrichs von der Pfalz, in: *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich: Politik, Kunst und Wissenschaft im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Barbara Zeitelhack and Reinhard Baumann (Regensburg: Pustat, 2002), 275–316, here 278. For another example of this view of libraries, referring to the Jesuit College Library in Dillingen, see Rüdiger May, "Von der 'geistlichen Rüstkammer' für Kolleg und Hochschule zur Studienbibliothek," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* 100 (1999): 627–642.

¹⁴⁴ Peter N. Miller, "A philologist, a traveler and an antiquary rediscover the Samaritans in seventeenth-century Paris, Rome and Aix: Jean Morin, Pietro della Valle and N. –C. Fabri de Peiresc," in: *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Helmut Zedelmaier and Martin Muslow (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 123–146.

¹⁴⁵ Angelo Paredi, *A History of the Ambrosiana*, trans. Constance and Ralph McNery (South Bend: Medieval Institute: University of Notre Dame, 1983), 21.

that they needed to exercise power. Cardinal Richelieu built his own enormous library (and presumably his Judaica collection) as a “documentation center” with this underlying philosophy in mind. His large collection of both Catholic and Protestant books illustrates his need for a religious arsenal as well.¹⁴⁶

A mixture of motives led nobles to build impressive collections, and they used a variety of means both old and new to do so. For many princely collectors it was enough to provide their representatives and agents with sufficient funds and orders to purchase what was available. Diego Guzmán de Silva, the Spanish ambassador to Venice from 1571–1576, became one of King Philip II’s chief agents for building up the El Escorial library. He sent dozens of crates full of books to Spain, including Hebrew and Arabic books, as well as the catalogues of Venetian booksellers to help guide future purchases. King Philip II purchased the collection of Diego de Hurtado de Mendoza in 1575, increasing the size of his library by 33 Hebrew manuscripts.¹⁴⁷ Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria purchased the collections of Widmanstetter and Johann Jacob Fugger.

Some of the spectacular growth in Hebrew collections can be attributed to another princely prerogative: the use of coercion and even warfare. Surely the most spectacular example of early modern “library building” through warfare was the seizure of the Palatine library by the Duke of Bavaria and his subsequent donation of the entire 8000 volumes to the Vatican library. The wagon train left Heidelberg on 14 February 1623 and ultimately arrived in Rome on August 9 with its precious cargo.¹⁴⁸ With the addition of the Palatine library, the Vatican library became for a time the largest Hebraica library in Europe, with the richest collection of Hebrew manuscripts. While the Palatine library seizure overshadows all other examples, whether they were captures by Protestants or Catholics, both sides were willing to make use of captured books and manuscripts as opportunity presented itself. In 1634 Wilhelm Schickard learned that the Duke of Württemberg acquired twenty-five Hebrew books when he captured the Hohenzollern fortress. He humbly petitioned the Duke, asking

¹⁴⁶ Jörg Wollenburg, *Richelieu, Staatsräson und Kircheninteresse. Zur Legitimation der Politik des Kardinalpremier* (Bielefeld: Pfortersche Buchhandlung, 1977), 166, 182.

¹⁴⁷ Levin, *Agents of Empire*, 189–193. See also Gregorio Andres, “Historia de las Procedencias de los Codices Hebreos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial,” *Sefarad* 30 (1970): 9–37, here 18–19.

¹⁴⁸ Christine Maria Gräfinger, “Ausleihe von Handschriften aus der Bibliotheca Palatina im 17. Jahrhundert,” *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 26 (1992): 24–38, here 27.

if he might be given them since most people could not read them, while he would find them most useful.¹⁴⁹

The seizure of Jewish books and libraries from their owners may also have played a role in the growth of Christian collections, above all in Italy. Perhaps the earliest example of this was the transfer of fifteen Hebrew manuscripts by the Spanish Inquisition to the El Escorial library in 1585.¹⁵⁰ The campaign by the Roman Inquisition to expurgate books and manuscripts belonging to Jewish owners was launched by Pope Paul IV in the Papal States in 1555 and spread to other parts of Italy by 1559.¹⁵¹ Whether it also provided Catholic collectors and institutions with a large number of confiscated Jewish books and manuscripts cannot be determined in the present state of research, but there is a certain amount of evidence pointing in that direction. The Ambrosian Library holds forty-six Hebrew manuscripts that were expurgated between 1597 and 1613, many of them by Domenico Gerosolimitano.¹⁵² He may have sold or given other manuscripts he had expurgated to Cardinal Federico Borromeo while serving as one of his book-buying agents from 1605–1608.¹⁵³ Domenico gave at least one Jewish manuscript to Jean Plantavit de la Pause in Rome.¹⁵⁴ Renate Segre speculated that the Jewish owners of many manuscripts might not have reclaimed their property from the Inquisition, given the number of receipts that she discovered in the state archives of Turin.¹⁵⁵ However, as

¹⁴⁹ Schickard to Duke Eberhard III, Tübingen, 15 May 1634, printed in: Wilhelm Schickard, *Briefwechsel Wilhelm Schickard.*, ed. Friedrich Seck, 2 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), 216–217.

¹⁵⁰ Andres, "Historia," 24–26.

¹⁵¹ William Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899), 40–49.

¹⁵² Pier Francesco Fumagalli, "Orientalia Federiciana. Prospettive Universali All'Ambrosiana," *Studia Borromaica* 19 (2005): 351–363, here 355. Thirty five Hebrew manuscripts in the Ambrosian Library collection were last expurgated by Domenico Gerosolimitano. Carlo Bernheimer, *Codices hebraici Bybliothecae amobrosianae* (Florence: Olschki, 1933), nos. 8, 16, 22–23, 25–26, 28, 32, 37, 44–46, 52, 55, 64, 69–70, 73, 75, 79–80, 82, 86, 88, 91, 93, 101, 107–108, 111, 113, 119. Given the extremely large number of manuscripts that he expurgated, however, these could have been acquired later rather than through him. At least two other Ambrosian Hebrew manuscripts (X 193 sup and X 189 sup) were expurgated again years after Domenico had done so. Aldo Luzzato, *Hebraica Ambrosiana: Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosian Library* (Edizioni il Polifilo, 1972), nos. 54, 57.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 3–4, and Cesare Pasini, "Le Acquisizioni Librarie del Cardinale Federico Borromeo e il Nascere dell'Ambrosiana," *Studia Borromaica* 19 (2005): 461–490, here 468–469.

¹⁵⁴ Plantavit de la Pause, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, no. 748.

¹⁵⁵ Renate Segre, "Neophytes during the Italian Counter-Reformation: Identities and Biographies," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1977–1981): 131–142, here, 141.

Popper noted receipts were also given to Jewish owners in Mantua during 1595–1597, when the expurgation commission needed more time to complete its work. The vast majority of these books were presumably returned to their owners.¹⁵⁶ While no evidence has come to light that Cardinal Francesco Barberini acquired any of his banned books in his personal library from the Roman Inquisition, he was its leader during the 1620's and he was not above using the power of his other offices to acquire free copies of other books and manuscripts. He was even able to acquire duplicates from the Vatican library itself. Francesco and other members of the Barberini family were in any case freely granted permission to keep banned books by his uncle, Pope Urban VIII.¹⁵⁷

What sets these monumental collections apart from their predecessors before 1560 is the growth of Hebrew expertise among those responsible for collection building.¹⁵⁸ At least three of these libraries had curators who were themselves scholars of Hebrew and who valued Hebrew books and manuscripts as sources of information and not only as curiosities. These learned librarians included Benito Arias Montano of the El Escorial, Sebastian Tengenagel of the Vienna Court Library, Lucas Holste, Francesco Barberini's librarian, together with a succession of Hebrew Scriptorers at the Vatican Library. Gabriel Naude, Cardinal Mazarin's librarian, deserves special mention among even this group, because of his broad vision of a librarian's task in building a useful, accessible library that included Judaica in its midst.¹⁵⁹

These librarians at times served as their own purchasing agents, making long journeys to acquire Jewish books and manuscripts for their patrons. Benito Arias Montano made several trips to Italy to purchase Jewish books and manuscripts for the El Escorial library.¹⁶⁰ Frequently, however, library keepers and owners relied upon knowledgeable agents to advise and inform them. Paul Fagius provided Count Ottheinrich of the Palatinate with perhaps the earliest example of a suggested purchase list of Hebrew books in 1547.¹⁶¹ Paulo Eustachio provided a list of 507

¹⁵⁶ Popper, *Censorship*, 77.

¹⁵⁷ Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. Barberini Cultural Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 263–265, 374, 402–404.

¹⁵⁸ Among the noble collectors before 1560, only Cardinal Viterbo and Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter were experts in Judaica, and could judge the quality of their acquisitions.

¹⁵⁹ Gabriel Naude, *Advice on Establishing a Library* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 27–28.

¹⁶⁰ Levin, *Agents of Empire*, 193.

¹⁶¹ Karl Schottenloher, *Pfalzgraf Ottheinrich und das Buch: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der evangelischen Publizistik* (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1927), 6.

numbered titles for Cardinal Federico Borromeo as he built the Ambrosian Hebrew collection in 1595.¹⁶² He also purchased Hebrew books on the cardinal's behalf from 1595–1596, as the Ambrosiana's financial records indicate.¹⁶³ Another of Cardinal Borromeo's agents was Domenico Gerosolimitano, whose expurgation work exposed him to a wide variety of Hebrew books as well. On a trip to Corfu he purchased two chests full of Hebrew books for the library.¹⁶⁴ Cardinal Richelieu's agent Johan Tileman Stella employed Johannes Buxtorf the Younger to purchase books and manuscripts for the Cardinal's library.¹⁶⁵ Jacques Gaffarel, who worked as a purchasing agent for Cardinal Richelieu from 1626–1633, made several major purchasing trips to Italy and the Levant, bringing back seventeen bales of Greek, Hebrew and Oriental manuscripts on one occasion.¹⁶⁶

The Vatican Hebraica collection was uniquely important throughout the Reformation era.¹⁶⁷ The earliest sixteenth-century inventory mentioning Hebraica books dated from shortly before the Sack of Rome in 1527 and noted the presence of 277 "Hebrew codices." While the majority of these works were probably manuscripts, they probably included printed books, which until the mid-seventeenth century were routinely listed with manuscripts by a succession of Vatican Hebrew curators. The Sack of Rome, however, reduced the size of the Vatican Library's Hebraica holdings. In 1558 there were fewer Hebrew works, 189 volumes, which included 130 manuscripts, twenty-five printed books, and another thirty-four books that were also probably in manuscript.¹⁶⁸ The size of the Vatican Hebraica collection shrank still further when some Talmudic materials were handed over to the Roman Inquisition in 1579.¹⁶⁹ The Hebrew collection

¹⁶² Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Codice H 53 Inf, fols. 183r–208v.

¹⁶³ Pasini, "Le acquisizioni librerie," 485 n. 12.

¹⁶⁴ Luzzato *Hebraica Ambrosiana*, 4.

¹⁶⁵ Kayserling, "Richelieu," 95 and n. 4.

¹⁶⁶ René Pintard, *Le Libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Boivin, 1943), 223. On the dates of Gaffarel's employment, see *Lettres à Claude Saumaise et à son entourage: 1620–1637*, ed. Agnès Bresson (Firenze: Olschki, 1992), 147.

¹⁶⁷ The Vatican Library, however, had a mixed reputation for accessibility to scholars throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Anthony Grafton, "The Vatican and its Library," in: *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library and Renaissance Culture*, ed. Anthony Grafton (Washington D.C, New Haven and Vatican City: Library of Congress/Yale University Press, and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993), 3–45, here 39–44.

¹⁶⁸ Leonard Boyle, "The Hebrew Collections of the Vatican Library," in: *A Visual Testimony: Judaica from the Vatican Library*, ed. Philip Hiatt (Miami and New York: Center for the Fine Arts /Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1987), 11–19, here 14.

¹⁶⁹ Patricia H. Jobe, "Inquisitional Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana: A Preliminary Handlist," in: *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe. Studies on Sources and*

did not grow significantly until after 1623, when the Palatine collection was added. These rich new works included copies of the Babylonian Talmud both in manuscript (Vat ebr. 134) and print.¹⁷⁰ In January of 1654 the library purchased five Hebrew manuscripts and sixty-four Hebrew printed books from Abraham Pesato. When the Vatican library acquired the Urbino collection in 1657, its Hebrew collection grew by a further fifty-nine manuscripts to 491 manuscripts.¹⁷¹

The Hebrew scribes of the Vatican Library were uniquely important within the world of Christian Hebraism, since they were mostly Jewish converts who were at least somewhat knowledgeable in non-biblical texts. Some of them continued to study these texts on their own account.¹⁷² In addition to supervising the growth of the collection, they also worked as scribes to copy texts for other Catholic libraries. Both the El Escorial and Ambrosian libraries acquired copies of Hebrew manuscripts that were prepared by the Vatican Library's own scribes. Paulo Eustachio prepared no fewer than five of these for the Ambrosian Library collection.¹⁷³ Giulio Bartolucci and Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati would later publish the first catalogue of the Vatican library's Hebrew manuscripts (1675–1693), an important milestone in the history of Jewish bibliography.¹⁷⁴

The Vatican Library collection of oriental manuscripts, above all those written in Arabic and Syriac, was far more intensively used than the Hebrew collection, at least as reflected by the kinds of books published in Rome and indeed by the library's own lending records.¹⁷⁵ Publishing in Arabic, Syriac, and other near eastern languages supported the work of Maronite scholars such as Abraham Ecchellensis, who taught in the Maronite College in Rome, and it was made possible by the specialized press of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.¹⁷⁶

Methods, ed. Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi with Charles Amiel (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1986), 33–53, here 36.

¹⁷⁰ P. M. de Enrico Stevenson, ed., *Inventario dei libri stampati palatino-vaticani*, 4 vols. (1886–91; reprint: Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1966–1969), 1: 22*–32*, no. 21.

¹⁷¹ Proverbio, "Historical Introduction," xvii–xviii.

¹⁷² Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *Censor, the Editor, and the Text*, 107–108. Romeo de Maio discussed the first Hebrew scribes appointed in "La Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana sotto Paolo IV e Pio IV," in: *Collectanea Vaticana in Honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda*, Studi e Testi 219 (Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 265–313, here 304–309.

¹⁷³ Fumagalli, "Orientalia federiciana," 355 and n. 14.

¹⁷⁴ Shimeon Brisman, *A History and Guide to Judaic Bibliography* (Cincinnati and New York: Hebrew Union College/KTAV, 1977), 7–8.

¹⁷⁵ Gräfinger, *Die Ausleihe Vatikanischer Handschriften*, 31, 78–81, 125, 136, 205, 207–208, 257, 345, 354, 368, 371, 448, 478, 486–490, 529.

¹⁷⁶ Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 326–333.

Before 1560, noble Judaica collectors were motivated primarily by the traditional goals of such library builders: using Judaica books as curiosities and as a way of displaying their wealth and supporting scholarship. Cardinal Grimani, who could not read Hebrew, used Pico's Hebraica collection for display purposes. Johann Jacob Fugger had his large collection of Judaica books and manuscripts bound in green leather and displayed in one part of his library in Augsburg. After 1560, the confessional division of Europe provided noble library builders with a further motive: to equip theologians of their own confession with the intellectual weapons they needed to fight Christians of other confessions. Both the Oratorian Library of Paris and the Munich Court Library were used in this fashion.¹⁷⁷ Over time, especially after 1560, Christian Hebraists came to play an ever greater role in building these monumental Judaica collections, since they had both the knowledge and personal contacts within the Jewish book market to locate and purchase Jewish books and manuscripts for their noble masters.

Christian Hebraist Canon

The bibliographers and the keepers of Hebraica collections, from nobles to private individuals, unwittingly created a basic set of forty-two Judaica books that scholars and collectors were aware of, that were readily available, and that were frequently used by scholars when composing their own works of Hebraica scholarship.¹⁷⁸

Gesner listed twenty-three of the forty-two books listed here in his *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545–55), and Buxtorf listed nearly all of them in 1613. Whether Christian customers knew of these books and sought them out, or they were readily available from booksellers, or included in library collections, they were accessible to Hebraists and formed a kind of Judaic canon to which they most frequently referred.

This Jewish canon for Christian Hebraists represented some of the most significant Jewish works, but it was also narrow in scope, considering the vast number of Jewish books available in print or even available in

¹⁷⁷ Paul Nelles, "The Uses of Orthodoxy and Jacobean Erudition: Thomas James and the Bodleian Library," *History of Universities* 22/1 (2007): 21–70, here 36.

¹⁷⁸ Baruchson [-Arbib] noted that ten of these works were fairly popular among Mantuan Jews: *Tanhuma*; Isaac Aboab, *Menorat ha-Mor*; *Yossipon*, *Mishnah*, Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah* and *More Nebuchim*, Jacob ben Asher, *Arba'a Turim*; Joseph Albo, *Ikkarim*; Judah ha-Levi, *Kusari*; and *Zohar*. "Jewish Libraries," 24.

Table 4.12. Jewish books commonly held in Christian libraries after 1600¹⁷⁹

Genre or Title	Private Libraries	Institution Libraries	Noble Libraries	Gesner v. 2
BIBLES AND COMMENTARIES				
*Rabbinic Bibles	Yes	Yes	Yes	40v
Pentateuch	Yes	Yes	Yes	40v
Hebrew Bible	Yes	Yes	Yes	40r
Bahya b. Asher, On Torah	Yes	Yes	Yes	40v
Levi b. Gerson, On Torah	Yes	Yes	Yes	40v
Nahmanides, On Torah	Yes	No	No	No
Abravanel, Minor Prophets	Yes	No	No	No
Abraham Saba, <i>Zeror ha-Mor</i>	No	Yes	Yes	42r
MIDRASH				
<i>Midrash Rabba</i>	Yes	No	No	40v
<i>Tanhuma</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Yalkut Shimoni</i>	Yes	No	No	No
Isaac Aboab, <i>Menorat ha-Moar</i>	No	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Mechilta</i>	No	Yes	No	42r
GRAMMARS, DICTIONARIES AND CONCORDANCES				
*David Kimhi, <i>Shorashim</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	42r
*David Kimhi, <i>Michlol</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	42r
*Nathan b Yehiel, <i>Aruk</i>	Yes	Yes	No	42v
*Concordance	Yes	Yes	Yes	42v
David de Pomis, <i>Zemah David</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
<i>Diqduqim</i> (Venice, 1546)	Yes	No	No	No
Solomon Urbino, <i>Ohel Moed</i>	Yes	No	No	No

(Continued)

¹⁷⁹ The titles with a star (*) were translated wholly or in part by Christian Hebraists.

Table 4.12. (*Cont.*)

Genre or Title	Private Libraries	Institution Libraries	Noble Libraries	Gesner v. 2
HISTORY				
Abraham Zacuto, <i>Yuchasin</i>	Yes	No	No	No
* <i>Seder olam rabba</i> or <i>zuta</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	41v
*Joseph ben Gorion, <i>Yossipon</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	40r
Azariah de Rossi, <i>Meor Enayim</i>	Yes	No	No	No
*Benjamin of Tudela, <i>Itinerary</i>	Yes	No	No	No
MISHNAH, TALMUD, HALAKAH				
Babylonian Talmud	Yes	Yes	Yes	42v
Jerusalem Talmud	Yes	Yes	Yes	42v
*Mishnah	Yes	No	No	No
*Maimonides, <i>Mishneh Torah</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	42v
Isaac Alfasi, <i>Halichot</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	42v
Jacob b. Asher, <i>Arba'a Turim</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	42r
<i>Col Bo</i>	Yes	No	No	No
*Joshua ha-Levi, <i>Halichot Olam</i>	Yes	No	No	41r
*Moses of Coucy, <i>Mizvot</i>	No	Yes	No	No
*Aaron Levi, Barcelona, <i>Hinnuch</i>	No	Yes	No	No
OTHER				
Prayer Books (all kinds)	Yes	Yes	Yes	42r
*Maimonides, <i>More Nebuchim</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	3:15v
*Joseph Albo, <i>Ikkarim</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	42r
Ibn Pekudah, <i>Duties of Heart</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
*Judah ha-Levi, <i>Kusari</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Abravanel, <i>Miflaot Elohim Zohar</i>	Yes	No	No	No
	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

institutional or noble libraries, especially after 1600. Some scholars such as the elder and younger Buxtorf and John Selden used a far larger number of Jewish texts to support their work, but this canon represented what was most widely available and known to Christian Hebraists generally. The fifteen books that are marked with a star (*) in Table 4.12 were translated into Latin (completely or in part) or otherwise adapted for Christian use and appeared in print during these years, providing the strongest evidence of their importance to Christian Hebraists. Other books such as the histories of Abraham Zacuto and Azariah de Rossi were routinely quoted by Christian Hebraists to support their own scholarship. The Hebraist encounter with Jewish texts took place largely through these books.

The virtual Judaica libraries assembled by bibliographers and the actual ones acquired by Christian scholars, institutions, and noblemen originally came into being for rather different reasons, but all were connected to the Christian Hebraist project. Protestant bibliographers such as Conrad Gesner and the Buxtorfs sought to create finding lists of Jewish books for Christian scholars to use in their studies. Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause shared this goal, but he also displayed greater caution in his bibliography, warning his Catholic readers which of the books he listed were prohibited. These bibliographies served first and foremost the needs of Christian Hebraists. While these works were potentially useful for library building, the only noble collector known to have used any of them was Ottheinrich of the Palatinate, who consulted Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*. Since Gesner's work was condemned in the first Roman Index of Prohibited Books (1559) and all subsequent ones, Catholic collectors may have used it but could not admit to having done so.

Both Jews and Jewish converts played important roles in the creation of Judaica bibliographies and collections. The Jewish book market itself, especially in Italy but also in southern Germany, was the source of books and manuscripts both for purchase and, in the case of the Buxtorfs, for information on Jewish bibliography. Both Jews and Jewish converts helped to build Judaica collections by serving as purchasing agents and scribes. Jacob Roman, a Jew of Constantinople, took the extraordinary step of collaborating with Johannes Buxtorf II by sending him a long list of printed books and manuscripts to include in a new edition of his father's *Bibliotheca rabbinica*. He also planned to translate the latter work into Hebrew, anticipating Sabbatai Bass's bibliographic project by almost thirty years. Roman recognized, as Bass later would, that a Jewish bibliography would benefit Jews as well.

The imagined and real Judaica collections of the Reformation era played a role in their own time by supporting the work of Christian Hebraists. As a rule Protestant Hebraists had to support their own research by assembling collections of Jewish books. They received relatively little support from the libraries of institutions or patrons, unless they had access to the three largest such libraries, the Bodleian, Sion College in London, or Leiden University Library. The noble and ecclesiastical libraries of Paris would provide significant support for Hebraist scholarship in seventeenth century France. The collection profiles of these libraries, whether private, institutional, or noble, provide crucial guidance for understanding the character of the Christian Hebraist mediation of Jewish learning, as reflected in the books that they published during the Reformation era.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CHRISTIAN HEBREW BOOK MARKET: PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS¹

Christian Hebrew books are perhaps the most enduring witness to the Christian study of Hebrew texts during the Reformation era. Books are fairly durable carriers of intellectual content that reflect the interests of their authors, but they are also physical artifacts that were produced in particular places by printers whose primary interest in making them was to profit from their sale. The production of Christian Hebrew books helped make possible the growth in Hebrew learning among Christians, since both beginning students and more experienced scholars needed such books. Because ordinarily printers could only profit from their manufacture of Hebraica books if they could sell enough of them, the sheer number of titles that they produced during the Reformation era reflects a strong and growing consumer demand. However, by themselves neither the printer's need to sell books nor the customer's desire to buy them could make potential customers aware that they were available for purchase. Hebraica books had to be advertised, distributed, and sold if printers were to stay in business. Hence we must also consider the significance of Hebrew books for the western European book trade during the Reformation era. The integration of Christian Hebraica books into the mainstream printing and book markets made possible an international scholarly conversation concerning the Hebrew language and Jewish texts that crossed confessional boundaries.

The Reformation affected the growth and spread of Hebrew printing in a number of ways. First, Christians on all sides of the confessional divide recognized the value of Hebrew learning both for interpreting the Hebrew Bible and for attacking the interpretations of their enemies, so there was a ready market for Christian Hebrew books. Second, the establishment of pre-publication censorship regimens throughout Europe after

¹ This chapter is based upon "Christian Hebrew Printing in the Sixteenth Century: Printers, humanism, and the Impact of the Reformation." *Helmantica* 51/154 (April 2000): 13–42, but has been considerably revised and expanded. I wish to thank the journal *Helmantica* for granting me permission to quote from this article.

1550, especially in Catholic countries where the Roman Index or another local version was used, deterred booksellers from distributing Protestant Hebraica.² Finally, the Thirty Years War disrupted the normal book distribution channels, centered at the twice-annual Frankfurt/Main book fairs, shifting both distribution and production of Hebrew books further west during the 1630's and 1640's, although Hebrew book production in German-speaking Europe continued at a reduced rate. Despite the war, however, the Christian Hebrew book trade remained strong in northern Europe.

Growth and Spread of Christian Hebrew Printing

Christian Hebrew books of the Reformation era were usually not written in Hebrew at all, but in Latin or occasionally in other languages. Their printed texts contained Hebrew words or phrases, and occasionally longer passages within a largely non-Hebrew text.³ Christian printers sometimes printed extensive Hebrew works, including Hebrew Bibles, but other features of such books, including a Latin title page, introduction or letter of dedication, facing Latin translation, or annotations, identified the intended reading audience. Sebastian Münster's reprinting of Elias Levita's *Masoret ha-Masoret* (Basel, 1539) contained the entire Hebrew text of the Venice original, but the title page and the introductions were translated into Latin, a feature that would have been unnecessary for its Jewish readers. Christian Hebrew printers produced these books as one small specialty within their larger Latin printing program, seldom more than 10% of any printer's production.⁴

The spread of Hebrew printing among Christian printers and the growing number of Hebraica books that they produced reflected not only the increasing need of Christian Hebraist authors to quote Hebrew sources in their books but also the effects of the Reformation upon the European book trade more generally. Before 1560, Christian Hebrew books were not as directly affected by confessional controversies, which far more often

² See below, chap. 6.

³ Alexander Marx, "Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type in Non-Hebrew Books, 1475–1520", in idem, *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1944), 296–345. To screen out the many imprints that contained occasional Hebrew words or phrases as proof of an author's learning, I have tried to include only texts where a knowledge of Hebrew was crucial for understanding the author's argument. See my discussion of Christian Hebrew authors in chap. 2.

⁴ Burnett, "Christian Hebrew Printing," 24.

involved arguments over the interpretation of New Testament texts rather than Old Testament ones. While books written by individual authors such as Martin Luther were banned in some countries, governments made no systematic attempts either to identify or to suppress either Protestant or Catholic books. The publication of the first Roman Index by Pope Paul IV in early 1559, however, signaled a shift toward greater confessional demarcation. The enforcement of the first Roman Index in Italy effectively ended with the pope's death on 18 August 1559, but it was replaced in 1564 by Tridentine Index, which contained a much lengthier list of banned authors and works that served as a model for lists of banned books published throughout Catholic Europe.⁵

Just as Italian humanists provided a market for the Greek and Latin classics, encouraging the growth of presses specializing in such works, so they encouraged Christian Hebrew printing. Aldus Manutius' very short introduction to Hebrew grammar, frequently printed either with Constantinus Lascaris' Greek grammar or with Manutius' own Latin grammar, was one of the earliest "best-sellers" among Hebrew grammars, with twenty-one printings in Italy and five elsewhere before 1560.⁶ It was in Italy that Reuchlin caught Pico's enthusiasm for Kabbalah, and Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* was the first Hebrew work to be printed by Thomas Anselm in Pforzheim.⁷ Some of the humanist-trained scholars who edited the Complutensian Polyglot came from Italy or were educated there.⁸ When Francis I founded a trilingual college in Paris during 1530, some of the first scholars he invited to teach Hebrew there were also Italians.⁹ Yet Italy would never dominate Christian Hebrew scholarship or printing.

⁵ *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, s. v. "Index of Prohibited Books," (by J. M. De Bujanda).

⁶ Gershom Soncino may have been the author of Manutius's grammatical sketch. See Saverio Campanini, "Reuchlins jüdische Lehrer aus Italien," in: *Reuchlin und Italien*, ed. Gerald Dörner, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 7 (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1999), 69–85, here 71.

⁷ See Hans Widmann, "Zu Reuchlins Rudimenta Hebraica," in: *Festschrift für Josef Benzing zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag 4. Februar 1964* (Wiesbaden: Guido Pressler, 1964), 492–498.

⁸ Demetrius Ducas, who was probably the principal New Testament editor, has worked for Manutius editing classical Greek texts. Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 77–78; Elio Antonio de Nebrija studied at the university of Bologna where he was exposed to the ideas of Italian humanists. See Arsenio Pacheco, "Elio Antonio de Nebrija," CE 3: 9–10.

⁹ These included Paul Paradisus and Agathius Guidacerius. Jerome Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983), 30–31.

Northern Europe would to be a far better market for Christian Hebrew books than southern Europe over the course of the Reformation era.

While Hebrew books for Christians were nearly always produced for export to distant markets and not simply to supply local demand, production statistics provide a rough indication of regional demand as well. Hebrew books produced up through the year 1560 do not for the most part reflect the confessional tensions that would later shape the world of Hebrew book production.

What is most remarkable about these figures is that northern European presses dominate Hebrew printing from the earliest period. Hebrew imprints from the Holy Roman Empire (including the German-speaking parts of the Swiss Confederation), France, Geneva, and the Spanish Netherlands together account for 87.5% of all Hebrew imprints (491 of 561). To be sure, sheer numbers of imprints do not tell the whole story—the Complutensian Polyglot was produced in Spain, and it alone

Table 5.1. Total production of Hebrew books for Christians, 1501–1560¹⁰

	1501–10	1511–20	1521–30	1531–40	1541–50	1551–60	Total
HR Empire	5	37	52	49	49	46	238
France	1	9	13	81	79	47	230
Italy	6	11	9	8	5	6	45
Spain	0	9	6	2	1	1	19
Geneva	0	0	0	0	0	15	15
Span NL	0	2	2	1	1	2	8
Poland	0	0	1	2	1	0	4
England	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Portugal	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Totals	12	68	84	144	136	117	561

¹⁰ To compile these statistics I have counted not only Christian books containing a significant number of words and phrases in Hebrew type, I have also included Syriac and Arabic imprints that were printed in Hebrew type since Christian Hebrew printing firms tended to print the latter kinds of books. I have included only biblical commentaries that made extensive, rather than decorative, use of Hebrew words and phrases. I have not included printed disputations or other university publications. The combination of Syriac learning with the study of Jewish texts in this period was considered a natural connection as the group of Catholic scholars responsible for the first printing of the Syriac New Testament illustrates. Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–7.

made Spain an important center of Hebrew printing—but the volume of titles produced is a rough indicator of customer demand. Printing presses of all kinds were businesses, and printers sought to produce works that customers wished to purchase in order to survive.

But even this early period saw confessional divisions among not only theologians but also printers, which spread Hebrew-printing technology to new cities. Robert Estienne left Paris after the death of his royal protector King Francis I in 1547 and set up his press in Geneva, the most important center of French Protestant printing.¹¹ His brother Charles remained Catholic and continued printing *Hebraica* in Paris. Several of Wittenberg's printers also began printing Hebrew books primarily to support theological instruction in the largest university in Lutheran Europe. The tendency for Hebrew printing and scholarship to be co-opted in the service of the new Christian confessions would only become more pronounced after 1560.

In this early period Jewish printers also played a relatively more important role in the growth of a Christian Hebrew printing industry than they would in later periods. Gershon Soncino printed Petrus Galatinus' defense of Reuchlin and of kabbalistic scholarship, *Opus de Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (1518), on his own press in Ortona.¹² Paul Fagius was able to persuade the aged Elias Levita to spend a year in Isny from late 1540 until late 1541, not only giving Levita the chance to print several of his books for the first time, but enabling Fagius to print Latin translations of some of them, making them far more accessible to Christian readers.¹³

Jewish printers who produced Hebrew Bibles also encouraged the growth of Christian Hebrew scholarship. In 1506 Reuchlin confidently asserted in the introduction to his Hebrew grammar that "throughout Italy Hebrew Bibles are printed and one can without effort purchase them at low cost," and he urged would-be Hebrew students to make the effort to purchase their own copies.¹⁴ Daniel Bomberg was able to take advantage of the growing market for Hebrew Bibles among both Christians and Jews

¹¹ Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne Royal Printer: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 211–220.

¹² Wilhelm Schmidt-Biggemann, "Political Theology in Renaissance Christian Kabbala: Petrus Galatinus and Guillaume Postel," *Hebraic Political Studies* 1/3 (2006): 286–309, here 286–290.

¹³ Stephen G. Burnett, "German Jewish Printing in the Reformation Era (1530–1633)," in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth Century Germany*, ed. Dean P. Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 503–527, here, 506–507.

¹⁴ Reuchlin to Dionysius Reuchlin, Stuttgart, 7 March 1506, in RBW *Leserausgabe*, 2: 36 = RBW, 2: 35, l. 29–30, no. 138.

by printing pocket-sized copies of Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon in duodecimo (12^o) and quarto sized Hebrew Bibles in 1516–17, 1521, and 1525–28 that had only the Hebrew Bible text.¹⁵ His introduction of the Rabbinic Bible was critically important for Christian readers. Bomberg's innovation of printing not only the Hebrew Bible text but also the Aramaic Targums for nearly the entire Bible, together with a selection of medieval Jewish Bible commentaries, meant that a Christian reader had at his disposal a miniature biblical studies library.

Between 1561 and 1620, the Reformation spread to France and the Spanish-ruled Netherlands, sparking the French Wars of Religion (1562–98) and the Dutch Revolt and the ensuing Eighty Years War (1568–1648) between the new Dutch Republic and Spain. Within the Holy Roman Empire tensions grew between not only Catholic and Lutheran princes but increasingly between both and a small but growing number of princes who espoused the Reformed confession.¹⁶ Catholic rulers in Italy and in Spanish-ruled Europe sought to use various versions of the Index of Prohibited Books together with other forms of press controls as a means to stop the circulation of books written by Protestant authors within their lands. Stricter enforcement of press controls together with other political measures succeeded to a degree in isolating Italy and Spain from the mainstream of European intellectual culture.¹⁷ The indexes produced in these countries notified printers which books they were forbidden to print. Such banned books could not even be quoted in other books written by other authors whose orthodoxy was not in question.¹⁸

Hebrew printing grew substantially in the years 1561–1620, but it also reflected the religious lines of demarcation and confrontation between

¹⁵ On the quarto Bibles, see Christian David Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (1896; reprint: New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1966), 948–956, 974–976. On the pocket Psalter and other books, see David Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (London: Holland Press, 1988), 164–167.

¹⁶ Heinz Schilling, "Confessionalisation in the Empire. Religious and Societal Change in Germany between 1555 and 1620," in his *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society. Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 205–245, here 218–232.

¹⁷ Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 287–288, and Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition. A Historical Revision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 117, 133–135. See below, chap. 6.

¹⁸ A papal commission sought to ban the Antwerp Polyglot, in part because Benito Arias Montano, its chief editor, had quoted both the Talmud and Sebastian Münster as authorities, even though both works had been banned in the Roman Index of 1564. B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)*, (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute/E. J. Brill, 1972), 55.

Catholic and Protestant Europe. Northern Europe became the focus of confessional competition with France, Germany, and the Spanish-ruled Netherlands, all divided religiously. Both Catholics and Protestants used universities and university-trained scholars as combatants in this European-wide conflict over the true form of Christian doctrine and polity. Reflecting the needs of learned Catholics and Protestants alike, Hebrew book production in the Holy Roman Empire, France, Geneva, and the Spanish Netherlands comprised 82.9% of the total (724 of 873), but when the Dutch Republic was added, Northern Europe's share grew to 92.5% of all Christian Hebrew printing in Europe.

Within the Holy Roman Empire both Wittenberg and Basel¹⁹ were the preeminent centers of Protestant Hebrew printing, while in the French-speaking world Paris continued to dominate production, with an emerging Protestant competitor in Geneva. In the Spanish Netherlands Antwerp became a major printing center during Christopher Plantin's lifetime, only to lose that dominance when his two heirs, Franz Raphelengius and

Table 5.2. Total production of Hebrew books for Christians, 1561–1620

	1561–70	1571–80	1581–90	1591–1600	1601–10	1611–20	TOTAL
HR Empire	46	43	62	88	72	92	403
France	55	33	36	25	10	15	174
Dutch Republic	0	0	15	21	29	19	84
Geneva	8	12	6	12	6	33	77
Spanish NL	21	27	9	4	5	4	70
Italy	5	6	7	7	9	11	45
England	0	0	0	2	1	6	9
Spain	2	1	1	1	1	1	7
Denmark	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Portugal	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
TOTAL	138	122	136	160	135	182	873

¹⁹ Basel had become a member of the Swiss Confederation in 1501, which did not become formally independent of the Holy Roman Empire until 1648. Stephen G. Burnett, "The Regulation of Hebrew Printing in Germany, 1555–1630: Confessional Politics and the Limits of Jewish Toleration," in: *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture*, ed. Max Reinhart and Thomas Robisheaux, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 40 (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1998), 329–348, here 339.

Jan Moretus, went different confessional ways. Raphelengius settled in Leiden in 1586 and became a major Hebrew printer there, while Moretus inherited the Antwerp presses and printed relatively little Hebraica thereafter. Confessional competition within the Low Countries (Spanish Netherlands vs. the Dutch Republic), France (Paris vs. Geneva), and the Holy Roman Empire (Cologne vs. Wittenberg and Basel) did not slow the growth of Hebrew scholarship but rather stimulated it. The chief Italian contribution in this period was not so much in printing Christian Hebraica as producing books in other Semitic languages.

The Medici Oriental Press in Rome was founded in 1584 by Cardinal Ferdinando de'Medici. In its founding document, Giovan Battista Raimondi, the director of the press, stressed its importance for missionary work.

He [Raimondi] ordered first the printing of the Holy Bible in Arabic in its entirety, or piecemeal at this early stage, and all Catholic books on Scripture that could be recovered in that language in order to serve the Arab Christians in the East and the Granadans in Spain. And he ordered the printing of all available Arabic books on permissible human sciences which had no religious content in order to introduce the art of printing to the Mohammedan community so that by the same means knowledge of the Mohammedans' errors and of the truth of the Christian faith could gradually get through to them.²⁰

From the beginning the press produced some copies of their books destined for the Near East, while others were produced with Latin title pages, and in the case of the Gospels in Arabic, an interlinear Latin translation. Two of the books that had no Latin translation, Avicenna's *Canons* and Euclid's *Elements*, had of course long existed in Latin translation, and so these two books, together with the Arabic Gospel imprint, could be and were used by Christian scholars such as Etienne Hubert to study Arabic.²¹ The combination of ecclesiastical ties, an important Arabic press, and the professorships of Arabic and Syriac at the Sapienzia University meant that Rome would be a uniquely important center for the study of Semitic languages throughout this period. Both the Medici Oriental Press and its successor press, which served the Congregation for the Propagation of the

²⁰ Quoted from Robert Jones, "The Medici Oriental Press (Rome 1584–1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe," in: *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. G. A. Russell, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 47 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 88–108, here 97.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 98, 92–93. Both Augustus Justinianus (1517–1522) and Guillaume Postel (1538–1543) taught Arabic at Paris earlier.

Faith in Rome, would stimulate the study of Syriac, Arabic and other Near Eastern languages through 1660 and beyond.²²

The outbreak of the Thirty Years War in Bohemia (1618–48) and its spread first to the Palatinate (1622) and then to the Lutheran territories of the Holy Roman Empire caused a major shift in the European book trade. After 1620, the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs were often cut off from both southern and western Europe merchants by the movements of Protestant and Catholic armies. No single book distribution hub replaced the Frankfurt book fair, but Paris, Amsterdam, and increasingly London became centers of the international book trade.²³

Northern Europe's share of Christian Hebrew book production reached an astonishing 96.4% between 1621 and 1660. Between them the four largest markets, the Holy Roman Empire, the Dutch Republic, England and France accounted for 91% of the total (530 of 582), but when Denmark and Sweden, together with Geneva, the Spanish Netherlands, Poland, and Hungary are added, their total production was 561 of 582 books. The emergence of England as both a producer and a consumer of Christian Hebraica is the most important development, but the proliferation of Hebrew

Table 5.3. Total production of Hebrew books for Christians, 1621–1660

	1621–30	1631–40	1641–50	1651–60	TOTAL
HR Empire	77	56	41	55	229
Dutch Republic	24	28	30	33	115
England	3	16	36	54	109
France	21	15	31	10	77
Italy	11	1	2	7	21
Denmark	8	4	3	2	17
Geneva	4	2	0	0	6
Sweden	0	0	1	3	4
Spanish Netherlands	0	0	1	1	2
Hungary	0	1	0	0	1
Poland	0	0	0	1	1
TOTAL	148	123	145	166	582

²² Jones, "Medici Oriental Press," 88–108.

²³ Henri-Jean Martin, *Print, Power and People in Seventeenth Century-France*, trans. David Gerard (Metuchen NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 198–200.

printing technology into smaller markets such as Scandinavia and Eastern Europe also points to a broadening of interest in Christian Hebraism.

Hebrew book production throughout the Reformation era was centered in Northern Europe, above all in the Holy Roman Empire and France, and after 1630 in the Netherlands and England as well. Hebrew printers in the Holy Roman Empire and France produced at least half of the Christian Hebrew titles that appeared during each decade from 1501 through 1650, printing 1286 of 1850 Hebrew books (69.5%). Indeed, during the decades between 1511–1570, 1581–1600, and again during the 1630's, printers in the Holy Roman Empire and France produced over two-thirds of all Christian Hebrew imprints. While the circumstances of the Thirty Years War reduced the number of Christian Hebrew books produced in the Holy Roman Empire during the 1630's and 1640's, these figures are still higher than any decade of production in the Dutch Republic or in England except the 1650's. They exceeded the totals in any decade of Hebrew books printed in Italy, Spain, the Spanish Netherlands or any other European country. The Holy Roman Empire and France, together with the Spanish Netherlands, Geneva, the Dutch Republic, and England, those lands where confessional conflict was most fiercely fought during the Reformation era, were also where Christian Hebrew printers had the best business prospects.

Hebrew printing among Christians was truly a novelty when Aldus Manutius first began printing Hebrew books, but by the end of the Reformation era it was a well-established printing specialty in Western Europe. Although most Hebrew books were produced in France and the Holy Roman Empire, Hebrew printers were active throughout Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed Europe. While not representing a large fraction of European output, the 2,016 imprints is not an insignificant figure either. In 1600 and 1601, the Frankfurt Book Fairs advertised 1059 and 1137 books of all kinds respectively, and together totaled 2196 imprints. Christian Hebrew books were from the beginning small niche market product and would remain so.²⁴

The Hebrew printing trade grew up in both Catholic and Protestant-ruled states, spreading to most western European countries. Most Christian Hebrew books were printed in relatively few towns and cities. Before 1560, Hebrew presses located in thirteen cities produced 90% of all Christian Hebrew imprints. From 1561–1620 Christian Hebrew printing took place in twenty-seven cities (including most, but not all, of the cities

²⁴ Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex Nundinarius Germaniae Literatae Bisecularis. Mess Jahrbücher des Deutschen Buchhandels* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1963), 37–38.

that produced them in the earlier period), producing 95.2% of Hebrew imprints. Christian Hebrew printing took place in twenty-six cities from 1621–1660, which produced 86.6% of all such imprints. While it was possible for printers outside of major centers to print Hebrew books, most of these books were printed in a limited number of cities.

Table 5.4. Production of Hebrew books by town

1501–1560	1561–1620	1621–1660
<i>Over 50 Books</i>	<i>Over 50 Books</i>	<i>Over 50 Books</i>
199 Paris	151 Wittenberg	95 London
126 Basel	130 Paris	62 Paris
	77 Geneva	
	71 Basel	
	67 Antwerp	
<i>21-49 Books</i>	<i>21-49 Books</i>	<i>21-49 Books</i>
33 Venice	42 Leiden	47 Leiden
31 Lyon	38 Lyon	32 Amsterdam
	33 Franeker	31 Basel
	26 Leipzig	30 Wittenberg
	23 Nuremberg	27 Leipzig
	23 Venice	
<i>11-20 Books</i>	<i>11-20 Books</i>	<i>11-20 Books</i>
19 Cologne	19 Frankfurt/Oder	20 Jena
15 Geneva	19 Hamburg	19 Franeker
14 Alcalá	14 Frankfurt/Main	17 Copenhagen
14 Strasbourg	13 Cologne	14 Rome
14 Wittenberg	12 Rome	13 Nuremberg
13 Augsburg		13 Rostock
12 Hagenu		11 Utrecht
<i>5-10 Books</i>	<i>5-10 Books</i>	<i>5-10 Books</i>
9 Isny	10 Giessen	8 Hamburg
7 Louvain	9 Amsterdam	8 Lyon
	8 London	7 Zurich
	8 Strasbourg	6 Cambridge
	7 La Rochelle	6 Frankfurt/Main
	6 Hanau	6 Geneva
	6 Heidelberg	6 Herborn

(Continued)

Table 5.4. (*Cont.*)

1501–1560	1561–1620	1621–1660
	5 Bergamo	6 Strasbourg
	5 Prague	5 Gotha
	5 Salamanca	5 Heidelberg
	5 Tübingen	5 Tübingen
		5 Venice
506/561 books = 90.2%	832/873 books = 95.3%	504/582 books = 86.6%

The places of publication enumerated in Table 5.4 are remarkable in several ways. Of the thirteen Hebrew printing centers that emerged before 1560, half of them would remain centers of Hebrew printing through 1660. Basel, Geneva, Lyon, Paris, Strasbourg, and Wittenberg move up and down the rankings, producing a greater or lesser number of Hebrew imprints in each period, but they remained important nonetheless. A further sixteen cities were important only in one of the three periods.²⁵ Cambridge, Jena, Rostock, Utrecht, and Zurich emerged as centers of Hebrew printing only after 1620. It is also no surprise that many of these centers were also university towns: Paris, Basel, Cologne, Alcalá, Wittenberg, Strasbourg, and Geneva would be joined after 1560 by Leiden, Franeker, Leipzig, Rome, Frankfurt/Oder, Heidelberg, Giessen, Strasbourg, Prague, Salamanca and Tübingen, and after 1620 by Zurich, Cambridge, Herborn, Utrecht, Rostock, Copenhagen and Jena. University towns were often centers of Hebrew scholarship as well as Hebrew learning, and Hebrew scholars and students could provide expert assistance in producing Hebrew books. After 1620, however, the relative importance of “centers” of Hebrew printing began to wane somewhat, declining from a peak of 95.3% to 86.6% of all Hebraica books printed in them. This small shift reflects the spread of Hebrew presses to other smaller towns, and the fact that it had become a less exotic kind of specialty printing.

The wishes of a wealthy or powerful patron, noble or ecclesiastical, or an ambitious printer briefly transformed several towns into centers of Hebrew printing. Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros underwrote the printing of the Complutensian Polyglot in Alcalá.²⁶ When he could not find a printer in Genoa to produce his complicated polyglot Psalter, Bishop

²⁵ Alcalá, Antwerp, Bergamo, Cambridge, Giessen, Gotha, Hagenau, Herborn, Isny, Jena, La Rochelle, Louvain, Prague, Rostock, Utrecht, Zurich.

²⁶ See Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999).

Augustinus Justinianus brought a Milanese printer, Pietro Paolo Porro, to town in 1516 to do the job.²⁷ When he was forced to retire to his diocese in southeastern France for political reasons, Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause hired Arnould Colomiez, a printer from Toulouse, to come to Lodève and produce his massive three-volume guide to Hebrew studies (1644–45). Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici first put Rome on the map as a center of Arabic and Syriac printing when he sponsored the Medici Oriental press in 1584, a function that the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith later assumed by directly funding its own oriental press.

Ambitious printers could also make unlikely places into centers of Hebrew printing. While Antwerp was not home to a university and it could boast of only one Hebrew printer, Christopher Plantin was the most important printer in all of Europe in his heyday and could well afford to invest in printing books in exotic languages. Isny was neither a powerful nor wealthy town, but its pastor and schoolmaster Paul Fagius was able to found an important Hebrew press there.²⁸ The choices, interests and priorities of individual printers and patrons were often critically important for the development of Hebrew scholarship.

Hebrew Printers

Who were the most prominent printers of Christian Hebraica in the sixteenth century and why were they so successful? Historians of the book trade have long known that printing in this period was a major industry dominated by major firms.²⁹ It should come as no surprise the most important printers and publishers of Christian Hebraica were firms that are well known to scholarship. Of the 677 printing firms and publishers of Christian Hebraica active between 1501 and 1660, only forty printing firms produced more than ten Hebrew books. Together they produced over half of all Christian Hebrew books.³⁰

²⁷ Paul F. Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535," in: *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 227–276, here 234.

²⁸ Stephen G. Burnett, "German Jewish Printing," 506–507.

²⁹ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (New York and London: Verso, 1990), 187.

³⁰ I have listed the leading firms in Appendix 2. The raw figures are 1,114 out of 2016 books (55.26%) but since many of these books were produced in partnerships between firms it is not possible to attribute proportionate responsibility without a far closer study of the imprints themselves. Examples of printer-publishers include Christopher Plantin, Johannes Jansson Sr. and Jr., Hendrik Laurens, Samuel Selfisch of Wittenberg, and the

Hebrew printing was an unusual specialty within the world of humanist printing, and four factors affected both the production and profitability of these Hebrew printing firms: the marketability of Hebrew books, the availability of typesetters and especially proofreaders who could produce Hebrew books, the interest of a major Hebrew scholar, and sponsorship by a monarch, high churchman, or local or national government. Hebrew books then as now appealed to a limited clientele, and not every book that was printed was necessarily a commercial success. Even well established firms printed books that for one reason or another did not find acceptance among customers, but since most books that they produced were not related to Hebrew, they were able to risk producing a few Hebraica titles for specialists.

While a number of printing firms produced Hebrew titles, they were not always able to sell enough copies to profit from them. Hebrew books could prove to be difficult to sell for a variety of reasons. Christopher Plantin was unable to sell the Antwerp Polyglot for five years after it was finished because of a series of theological challenges raised by both papal and Spanish theologians.³¹ Other books simply did not find enough interested customers. In 1510, Johannes Reuchlin was informed that about 700 (of 1500) copies of his *Rudimenta* (Pforzheim, 1506) were as yet unsold.³² Only a quarter of the 2,000 copies of Justinianus' polyglot Psalter (Genoa, 1516) were ultimately sold.³³ The inventory catalogues of Johann Herwagen and Heinrich Petri, dating from 1553–1554, list copies of no fewer than eight of Sebastian Münster's books, which had been printed more than twenty years before and were still available for purchase. Although some of Münster's books, notably his *Opus Grammaticum Consummatum* (1542, 1544, 1549) and Hebrew dictionary (1523, 1525, 1535, 1548) had to be reprinted regularly to keep up with demand, not all of his works sold out.³⁴ In 1615, Balthasar and Jan Moretus of the Moretus-Plantin firm could offer thirty different Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac books to their customers, some of them printed fifty years before.³⁵ Smaller Hebrew printers

English partnership of James Flesher, Cornelius Bee, James Flesher, William Wells, Cornelius Bee, Richard Royston, Thomas Robinson, and William Morden. See Appendix 2.

³¹ See Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969), 1: 60–64, and Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, 55–64.

³² Widmann, "Reuchlins Rudimenta," 494.

³³ Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 235.

³⁴ A. van der Linde, "Drei Baseler Verlags- und Lagerhauskataloge aus den Jahren 1553 und 1554," *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft* 46 (March–April 1885): 65–82, here 67–69, 73–77 (numbers 39, 48–49, 71, 90, 206, 286, 298).

³⁵ *Index Librorum qui in Typographia Plantiniana Excusi Venales nunc Extant* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1615), 73–74 [Göttingen SUB, Sig. 8 HLL I, 6698].

suffered more acutely from slow sales and debt. Paul Fagius, Alexander Dietrich, and the various Hamburg firms that printed the works of Elias Hutter all had serious difficulties meeting their financial obligations or had trouble selling off old stock. The Hamburg firms in particular resorted to a variety of repackaging/reissuing schemes to clear their warehouses of old Hutter Bibles.³⁶

The availability of Hebrew type and of learned personnel, both proofreaders and typesetters, were important limiting factors for Hebrew printing.³⁷ Before 1520 printers frequently had either special woodcut blocks created for pages with Hebrew type, or they had individual Hebrew letters made for use in typesetting, which were then discarded, either after they were no longer needed or when they wore out.³⁸ By 1520, however, a number of presses such as Anselm and Froben had cast Hebrew type at their disposal. Having a sufficient quantity of type cast could be expensive but was not wholly beyond the means of interested individuals. Both Fagius and Hutter owned their Hebrew type, but both also had financial backers who were able to pay for it.³⁹ The difficulty of obtaining Syriac and Arabic type meant that some books in each of these languages were produced using Hebrew type, including improbably an Arabic grammar.⁴⁰

Finding personnel who could use such type correctly was a greater challenge. The most obvious place to look for learned personnel would have been to make use of Jewish presses staffed with experienced Hebrew proofreaders and typesetters, but apart from Italy few non-Jewish printers did so. Of the forty firms that printed ten or more Christian Hebrew books, only seven of them produced books intended for Jewish

³⁶ Richard Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius aus Rheinzabern: Sein Leben und Wirken als Reformator und Gelehrter*, Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte 6 (Grünstadt/Pfalz: Verein für Pfälzische Kirchengeschichte, 1957), 25–26, 43–45; Lore Sporhan-Krempel and Theodor Wohnhaas, “Elias Hutter in Nürnberg und seine Biblia in etlichen Sprachen,” *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 27 (1986): 157–162, and Herbert C. Zafren, “Elias Hutter’s Hebrew Bibles,” in: *The Joshua Bloch Memorial Volume: Studies in Booklore and History*, ed. Abraham Berger, Lawrence Marwick and Isidore S. Meyer (New York: New York Public Library, 1960), 29–39. Sigmund Grimm’s Augsburg press also encountered serious financial difficulties, but Hebraica/Judaica was a relatively small part of its offerings (seven books out of 247 produced). Hans-Jörg Künast, “*Getruckt zu Augspurg*,” *Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555*, *Studia Augustana* 8 (Tübingen: Niemeyer 1997), 66–70.

³⁷ On Hebrew type, see Appendix 3.

³⁸ Marx, “Notes on the Use of Hebrew Type,” 301–307, 316, 333–334, 344–345.

³⁹ On Fagius’ type, see Elisabeth S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, vol. 1: *The Inventories* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986), 109.

⁴⁰ Andreas Sennert, *Introductio brevis ad linguae Arabicae rectam lectionem* (Wittenberg: Fincelius, 1650), VD 17 3:022090F.

customers.⁴¹ Other better-known Jewish presses such as Bomberg and di Gara of Venice would occasionally print a Hebrew book for a Christian client, but such works formed a tiny fraction of their overall output.⁴²

The vast majority of Christian Hebrew presses used non-Jewish typesetters and compositors to produce Hebrew books. Plantin's firm had an immediate advantage in that his son-in-law Franz Raphelengius, one of his most important employees, was a gifted oriental linguist and could handle most ordinary Hebrew printing projects. Raphelengius could not by himself perform all of the tasks necessary to manufacture the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, however, and so Plantin was obliged to hire a number of other scholars to complete the project.⁴³ The firm of Froben/Episcopius, apart from its own experienced personnel, also on occasion hired Jacob Kündig (Parcus), another Basel Hebrew printer to work for their press when they printed *Hebraica*.⁴⁴ When Hans and Friedrich Hartmann decided to start producing *Hebraica* in an effort to become the official printer for the university of Frankfurt/Oder, they were able to do so relatively quickly by hiring away five experienced workmen from Zacharias Crato's Wittenberg firm, which was having financial difficulties.⁴⁵ The presence of other Hebrew presses in the same city meant that a somewhat larger pool of learned personnel was available and could be drawn upon either by hiring workers for a specific job or by dividing up the work and jointly manufacturing or paying for a work, such as the first printing of Sebastian Münster's Hebrew Bible with facing Latin

⁴¹ These were Ambrosius Froben, Conrad Waldkirch and Ludwig König of Basel, Christopher Plantin, Paul Fagius, and Jan Jansson and Hendrick Laurens of Amsterdam. See Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1886)* (Olten and Freiburg: Urs-Graf, 1965), 175–188, 245, 331, and Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, 35–50 on Waldkirch. The Plantin firm, while not strictly speaking a Jewish press, was able to sell many Hebrew Bibles to North African Jews through merchant intermediaries. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 392 and n. 4. On Jansson and Laurens, see L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography*, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), 105–107.

⁴² For current listings on the output of both printers, see Yeshayahu Vinograd, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Book*, 2 vols (Jerusalem: Institute for Computerized Hebrew Bibliography, 1993), 2: 243–265.

⁴³ Plantin had earlier hired Johannes Isaac of the University of Cologne to proofread two books for the press in 1563–64. Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 286 n. 4. For a discussion of the newly hired scholars who helped to edit the Polyglot, see Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1: 63–64.

⁴⁴ Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke*, 164.

⁴⁵ Heinrich Grim, "Der Verlag und die Druckoffizin der Buchbinder "Hansen und Friderichen Hartman-Vater und Sohn Buchhändlern zu Franckfurt an der Oder" (1588–1631)," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (1960): 237–254, here 244–245.

translation.⁴⁶ While the challenge of printing Hebrew books without using Jewish printers might seem daunting, for the largest and most successful of these firms it was all in a day's work.

Whether a printing firm was large or small, the presence of one or more gifted, motivated Hebrew scholar in the vicinity was often decisive in convincing its owner to print Hebrew books. The publications of a best-selling Hebrew scholar could form a large proportion of a city's total output of such works. University professors of Hebrew were frequently involved in producing new books on Hebrew and helping see them through the press. Sebastian Münster, for example, wrote, edited or translated works that resulted in seventy-eight Basel imprints, 46.4% of the city's Hebraica output before 1600. Jean Mercier (twenty-four imprints), Gilbert Générard (forty-five), and Jean Cinqarbres [Quinquarboreus] (seventeen), all professors at the College Royale, did not dominate the Paris Hebrew printing firms in quite the same way, but together they accounted for eighty-six Paris Hebraica imprints, 27.7% of the Hebraica produced there before 1600. Johannes Isaac professor of Hebrew at the university of Cologne, wrote or edited twelve of the twenty-nine Hebrew imprints produced there before 1600 (41.4%). Quite apart from the enthusiasm of professors of Hebrew for their own work, these men could also provide invaluable production assistance for such unusual books. While it was uncommon for authors to proofread their own works for the press during the sixteenth century, Hebrew printing did not necessarily follow the trend.⁴⁷ Sebastian Münster was deeply involved with the Heinrich Petri firm in Basel, helping produce works as well as writing for it.⁴⁸ Johannes Isaac spent a year as a houseguest of Plantin (1563–64), overseeing the printing of his own *Grammatica Hebraea Absolutissima* and a new edition of Sanctes Pagninus's *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, and was paid handsomely for it.⁴⁹

While professors enjoyed the permanence of a university appointment and the ability to assign their publications as textbooks to students, Hebraists who worked as schoolmasters or in some other profession were

⁴⁶ Johann Bebel, Michael Isingrin and Heinrich Petri all played a role in the production of the first printing of Münster's annotated Hebrew Bible. Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke*, 67–69.

⁴⁷ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 300–301.

⁴⁸ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 91, (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963), 62–63.

⁴⁹ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1: 367.

also able on occasion to interest local printers in their publications. Hieronymous Haultin produced only six Hebrew books in his firm at La Rochelle, but all of them were the Hebrew and Aramaic grammars of Petrus Martinus, the rector of the local academy.⁵⁰ Paul Fagius was unusual in that he founded his Hebrew-printing firm and found a financial backer to print his own works.⁵¹ Johannes Boeschenstein was able to find enough support to produce fifteen Hebrew books between 1514 and 1539 without any kind of regular teaching appointment. Elias Hutter, however, enjoys the dubious distinction of being both the most persuasive free-lance Hebraist in convincing printers to produce his work and the least commercially successful, leaving debts and masses of unsold books behind him in both Hamburg and Nuremberg.⁵² For good or for ill, the enthusiasm and technical knowledge of Hebrew scholars were often a decisive factor in whether a particular firm produced Hebrew books or not.

A final factor in Hebrew printing, especially of monumental works, was patronage. The Complutensian Polyglot (1514–1517), the Antwerp Polyglot (1568–72), and the Paris Polyglot Bibles (1629–1645) were truly enormous undertakings, each requiring a large editorial staff of experts and costing a fortune to produce. Cardinal Jiménez, the principal patron of both the trilingual College of San Ildefonso and of the Polyglot Bible project, spent 50,000 gold ducats on the work.⁵³ Christopher Plantin was not only given explicit permission by King Philip II of Spain to produce the Antwerp Polyglot but also received a royal grant of 12,000 guilders to underwrite the costs.⁵⁴ Michael Guy Le Jay, the patron of the Paris Polyglot Bible, invested seventeen years and 300,000 francs in the project as well as a further 19,000 livres given him by Cardinal Mazarin.⁵⁵

Individual authors on occasion also found supporters with deep pockets. Elias Hutter was able to pursue his grandiose polyglot Bible project in Nuremberg because the city council was willing to loan him enormous

⁵⁰ Louis Desgraves, *L'Imprimerie à la Rochelle, 2: Les Haultin 1571–1623* (Geneve: Droz, 1960), xxx–xxxi.

⁵¹ Raubenheimer, *Fagius*, 25–26.

⁵² Sporhan-Krempel and Wohnhaas, “Hutter,” 160–161, and Zafren, “Elias Hutter’s Hebrew Bibles,” 30–39.

⁵³ Basil Hall, “The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible,” *Studies in Church History* 5 (1969): 114–146, here 145.

⁵⁴ Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 1: 61.

⁵⁵ Donald Hendricks, “Profitless Printing—Publication of the Polyglots,” *Journal of Library History* 2/2 (1967): 98–116, here, 108–109. By contrast the London Polyglot was almost entirely financed by subscriptions (110).

sums of money.⁵⁶ Sanctes Pagninus enjoyed the patronage of Pope Leo X, Tommaso Strozzi, the prior of his abbey in Rome, Cardinal François d'Auch of Clermont, and several Florentine exiles living in Lyon who underwrote the costs of his polyglot Psalter (Rome 1524), his pioneering Hebrew grammar, dictionary, and new Latin translation of the Bible.⁵⁷ The States General of the Dutch Republic underwrote the costs of printing Johannes Drusius's annotations on the entire Bible from 1613.⁵⁸ Perhaps the most successful self-promoter among Christian Hebraists was Athanasius Kircher. For his *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–1654), an enormous three-volume, lavishly illustrated opus of two thousand folio pages on the meaning of hieroglyphics (one of the most misguided books ever written on the subject), Kircher received a subvention of 3000 ducats from Emperor Ferdinand III.⁵⁹ While most Hebrew printing ventures did not enjoy such lavish support, the importance of patronage for pioneering and monumental Hebrew printing projects is clear.

Christian Hebrew Book Trade

If Hebrew instruction and a Hebrew printing industry were necessary preconditions for the surprising and unprecedented growth of Hebrew learning among Christians, means of making Hebraica books known and available to readers were no less critical. Distributing their wares and advertising their availability were important challenges for all early modern printing houses. Even firms that printed popular vernacular language works could not sell all that they produced within their local area. In most towns there were simply not enough paying customers.⁶⁰ Printers of Hebraica, whether Christian or Jewish, faced a more acute version of the same problem. They needed to distribute their wares most efficiently so

⁵⁶ Sporhan-Krempel and Wohnhaas, "Hutter," 157–161.

⁵⁷ Grendler, "Italian Biblical Humanism," 242–246.

⁵⁸ The States General resolutions have not been entirely published, but see provisionally *Resolutien der Staten-Generaal*. Nieuwe reeks, 1610–1670, ed. A.Th. van Deursen (Gravenhage, Nijhoff, 1971-present. 7 vols) = *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatien*. Grote serie 135, 151–152, 176, 187, 208, 223. Here vol. 135 (1610–1612), no. 443 (4 June 1612); vol. 151 (1613–1616), no. 788 (19 Oct. 1613), no. 655 (1 Aug 1614); vol. 152 (1617–1618), no. 1429 (27 Sept 1617); vol. 176 (1619–1620), no. 411 (7 March 1619), no. 1122 (12 July 1619); and vol. 187 (19 Aug 1622), no. 3982.

⁵⁹ Daniel Stolzenberg, Introduction: Inside the Baroque Encyclopedia," in: *The Great Art of Knowing: The Baroque Encyclopedia of Athanasius Kircher*, ed. Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford: Stanford University Libraries, 2001), 1–15, here 8.

⁶⁰ Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, 220–221.

as to recoup the costs of production as quickly as possible. For their part, Christian Hebraists perceived the printers' challenge as the twin problems of information and supply. They needed to know which Hebraica books were available for purchase and where could they be found.

Over the course of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, printers and professional booksellers found ways to overcome these difficulties by developing more efficient means of book distribution. Their methods included the use of printer's sales catalogues and the publication of book fair catalogues. The large-scale booksellers who emerged around 1630 in the Netherlands, France, and England frequently advertised their wares using printed catalogues as well. Integrating Hebrew learning into the world of Christian scholarship involved not only placing such books in libraries but also making information about them available to Christian Hebraists living outside of major centers of scholarship.

Before 1560, acquiring Hebraica books often required personal dealings with a bookseller or printer, either buying a book directly from the printer or employing an agent to do so. In 1500 Pellican purchased his very first Hebrew Bible from a local bookseller in Tübingen.⁶¹ By the early sixteenth century, the Frankfurt and Leipzig trade fairs already featured booksellers' booths where Hebrew books could sometimes be purchased. In 1518 Georg Spalatin purchased a first edition Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (1517) for Philip Melanchthon at the Leipzig Book Fair.⁶²

Christian Hebraists also sought to find Hebraica books through letters or intermediaries sent to Hebrew printers or booksellers. Pellican maintained contact with Daniel Bomberg in Venice by letter and through representatives such as Basel merchant Damian Irmi. With Bomberg's help Pellican purchased not only Bomberg imprints but also books printed elsewhere, such as David Kimhi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim* from distant Constantinople.⁶³ Johannes Reuchlin also corresponded with Bomberg in 1521–1522.⁶⁴ Josel of Rosheim reported that Wolfgang Capito once received

⁶¹ Conrad Pellican, *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikans*, ed. and trans. Bernhard Riggensbach (Basel: Bohnmaier, 1877), 20.

⁶² Philipp Melanchthon an [Georg Spalatin], [Wittenberg, 24 September 1518], *Melanchthons Briefwechsel. Kritische und Kommentierte Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Heinz Scheible, (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1991-) vol. 1, p. 75, l. 1–3 (letter no. 24).

⁶³ Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526–1556*, *Zürcher Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte* 4 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 233. See Marvin J. Heller, "The Hebrew book trade as reflected in book catalogues," *Quaerendo* 26 (1996): 245–257, here 247–248. Sebastian Münster also owned at least one Constantinople Jewish imprint: *Ben Sira* (Constantinople, 1519) [Basel UB Sig. FA VI 10].

⁶⁴ RBW-Leseausgabe, 4 (nos. 398, 402).

a parcel of Hebrew works from Constantinople, perhaps also sent by Bomberg.⁶⁵ Johannes Oecolampadius also corresponded with distant booksellers to purchase several books, including a Bomberg Rabbinic Bible.⁶⁶ In 1522, Tübingen university authorities took unusual steps to support Johannes Reuchlin, their first professor of Hebrew, by arranging to import inexpensive (2 Gulden) Hebrew Bibles directly from Bomberg in Venice to ensure an ample supply for his Hebrew students.⁶⁷

A fortunate few received Hebraica books as gifts. Johannes Reuchlin gave Johannes Oecolampadius, his one-time Hebrew student, a copy of the Hebrew Psalter sometime before 1515.⁶⁸ Augustus Justinianus gave away many copies of his polyglot Psalter (Genoa 1516). Erasmus reported that he went “to and fro presenting it to men in great position, and so makes more by it than he ever could across the counter.”⁶⁹ Pellican received a copy of the first printing of Sanctes Pagninus’s Hebrew lexicon as a gift from Bonifacius Amerbach, who had been given the book by the author. Pellican, in turn, would later give the book to Sebastian Münster to use when he wrote his own Hebrew lexicon.⁷⁰ Sebastian Münster received the most handsome gift of all, a first printing of the Rabbinic Bible (1517) from Johann Froben in 1523.⁷¹

During the 1540’s, Hebraica printers themselves began to produce sales lists of their wares in the form of pamphlets and broadsheets.⁷²

⁶⁵ Josel of Rosheim to the Strasbourg City Council, July 1543, printed in: *The Historical Writings of Joseph of Rosheim Leader of Jewry in Early Modern Germany*, ed. Chava Fraenkel-Goldschmidt, Studies in European Judaism 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 412.

⁶⁶ *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* 2 vols., ed. Ernst Staehlin, Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte 10 (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1927), 1:87.

⁶⁷ “Darzu hebraisch gedruckte Bibeln von Venedig in ainem zimlichen werd namlich vmb II fl. Den schulern zuuerkouffen zuwegen gebracht vnd beyhendig.” Bekanntmachung der Universität unentgeltlichen Unterricht betreffend 1522,” in: *Urkunden zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1476–1550*, ed. Rudolph von Roth (1877; Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1973), 131. See Johannes Reuchlin to Thomas Anselm, Tübingen, 13 January 1522, RBW-Leseausgabe, 202–204, here 204 (n. 401).

⁶⁸ Wolfgang von Abel and Reimund Leicht, *Verzeichnis der Hebraica in der Bibliothek Johannes Reuchlins*, Pforzheimer Reuchlinschriften 9 (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2005), 200–201.

⁶⁹ Erasmus to Cuthbert Tunstall, Louvain, 22 October 1518, CWE 6: 159–163, here 160, l. 33–161, l. 38.

⁷⁰ Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken*, 167. Pellican mentioned other books that he received as gifts in his *Chronikon*, 140.

⁷¹ The donation inscription on the title page read: “Ioannes Frobenius Typographiis An. M.D.XXIII. dono dedit Sebastiano Munst.” See Basel UB shelf number FG II 11.

⁷² On the earliest use of broadsheets and pamphlet by printers, see Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue From the Invention of Printing to*

Robert Estienne was probably the first Paris Hebrew printer to do so in 1542, and other Paris printers such as Chrétien Wechel (1543) and Guillaume Morel (1554) quickly followed his example.⁷³ Basel Hebrew presses such as Hieronymus Froben began printing broadsheets by 1549, though the earliest extant example is from 1557.⁷⁴ While it is possible that Daniel Bomberg did so as well, the list of Bomberg books printed in Conrad Gesner's *Pandectarum sive partitionum universalium* (1548) was probably a catalogue of books Bomberg had available in his warehouse, not a press catalogue per se.⁷⁵ The introduction of printers' catalogues helped them to advertise their wares and informed potential customers which Hebraica books were available for purchase from them, whether at a major book fair or at other times. Printers' catalogues would continue to be produced through the mid-seventeenth century and beyond, since they served to advertise not only newly printed books but also older works. Their importance was somewhat eclipsed, at least for newly printed works, by the composite catalogues of the two most important annual book fairs, which were held in Frankfurt/Main and in Leipzig.

Book Fair Catalogues

The book fair catalogue was an innovation of Georg Willer, an Augsburg printer. In 1564, Willer began collecting printers' catalogues and combining them together in a much larger catalogue of new and forthcoming books for the Frankfurt book fair, organized by subject. Willer's idea was a shrewd one, and the Frankfurt/Main book fair catalogues, and the related Leipzig book fair catalogues, became popular means of advertising books both before and during the trade fairs themselves.⁷⁶ Scholars in

A.D. 1800 Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library (Cambridge: Roxburgh Club, 1965), 50 (broadsheets) and 59 (octavo pamphlets), 62 [Berlin SB Sig. RLS La 1863].

⁷³ Christian Coppens, "Sixteenth-Century Octavo Publishers' Catalogues Mainly from the Omont Collection," *De Gulden Passer* 70 (1992): 5–61, here pp. 16, 20–21, 23.

⁷⁴ Conrad Gesner reprinted a Froben catalogue in *Pandectarum sive Partitionum uniuersalium Conradi Gesneri Tigurini, medici & philosophiae professoris, libri ... libri XXI* (Zürich: Froschauer, 1548), a2r–v. See also *Librorum Tabernae et Officinae Frobenianae Index MD LVII*, and reproduced in the microfilm series *German Books before 1601*, reel no. 131.

⁷⁵ In addition to books printed by Bomberg himself, the list contains both Constantinople imprints and Elijah Levita's *Tishbi*, produced in Isny by Paul Fagius in 1541, so it cannot be considered a "printer list" for Bomberg's firm. Marvin J. Heller, "Hebrew book trade," 245–257, here 247–249, and note 9.

⁷⁶ James Westfall Thompson, "Historical Introduction," in: *The Frankfurter Book Fair: The Francofordiense Empirium of Henri Estienne* (1911; New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 3–123, here 82–86.

distant lands who did not have the opportunity to visit the fairs themselves could still find out what books were available and could order them from booksellers or the printers themselves. Joseph Scaliger used the catalogues to keep abreast of new books, including those written by his many detractors and critics.⁷⁷ John Bill reprinted the Frankfurt sales catalogues in England from 1617–1628 so that English readers could stay informed about new books produced on the continent.⁷⁸

How effective were the book fair catalogues in advertising the Hebraica books available for sale? The Leipzig book fair catalogues, which have been fully preserved from 1594 through 1660 and beyond, provide a partial answer to this question.⁷⁹ Between 1601 and 1660, 899 Christian Hebrew books were produced throughout Europe, and 416 of these appeared in the Leipzig Book Fair catalogues, 46.3% of total production. Some regions of Europe were far better represented than others. Of the Christian Hebrew books produced in German-speaking Europe, 65.9% were listed (259 of 393). The proportion of Dutch Hebraica was 57% (93 of 163) and for Geneva Hebraica 57.7% (26 of 44). Only one in four Hebraica books produced in France (24.5% twenty-four or twenty-five of 102 books) and less still for the Spanish Netherlands (one of eleven books or 9.1%) were listed in the catalogues. Other regions or countries such as Italy (three of forty-one imprints or 7.3%) and England (four of 116 imprints or 3.4%) fared still worse.

The Leipzig book fair catalogues performed well in advertising monumental Hebrew books such as Hebrew or Polyglot Bibles and books written in related languages such as Syriac. Of the seventy-one such books that were produced between 1601 and 1660, almost two-thirds of them (forty-eight or 66.6%) were advertised in the Leipzig book fair catalogues. Of the twenty-six books that did not appear, twelve of them were printed in Rome. Roman printers sent almost none of their books to the Frankfurt/Main or Leipzig book fairs after 1600. Between 1601 and 1660, a mere forty Latin and five Italian books printed in Rome were advertised in the Frankfurt and Leipzig catalogues, a small fraction of what was produced there.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2: *Historical Chronology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 507–508. See also p. 400.

⁷⁸ Rudolf Blum, "Vor- und Frühgeschichte der nationalen Allgemeinbibliographie," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 2 (1959): 5–79, here 43.

⁷⁹ Bernhard Fabian, *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten, siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts: eine Mikrofische-Edition* (Hildesheim: Olms Microform, 1979). See Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels bis in das siebzehnte Jahrhundert* (1886; reprint: Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1970), 489–491.

⁸⁰ Schwetschke, *Codex Nundinarius*, 41, 44, 52, 68, 60 (sic, pagination incorrect), 62, 68, 72, 79, 83–85, 98, 100, 102, 104, 107, 113, representing 1603, 1605, 1609, 1612–14, 1617, 1619, 1625,

A further three books were printed by Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause in Lodève, a town in southern France where no other Hebraica books were produced either before or afterward.⁸¹ The printers of the remaining six missing books regularly sent their works to the fair, suggesting that either the books were produced too late to send to the fair that year or that it was too dangerous to transport them. One book was printed by the princely press at Köthen, another by Elsevier, and the final three titles (produced in eight volumes) were Bibles printed by Rovièr in Geneva. While the non-appearance of the Rome imprints would have been a serious gap in coverage because almost all of them (eleven of twelve) were Syriac imprints, the Leipzig book fair and its catalogues offered a significant if not exhaustive reporting of new Hebrew-related scholarship. Between the years 1601 and 1660, when significant breakthrough works of scholarship such as the Paris Polyglot Bible appeared, the Leipzig Book Fair Catalogue routinely reported their appearance and availability.

Book Seller Catalogues

By the late 1620's, large-scale booksellers in Western Europe began to use book catalogues as a means of marketing their wares, including Hebraica. These catalogues came in a variety of sizes and did not always list the full contents of a firm's warehouse. They are important for this study, since they give an idea of what kinds of Hebraica were available to purchasers, especially in England, the Netherlands and France. They provide indications of how well Hebraica books written by Anglican, Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Hebrew books circulated outside of their own home regions. Perhaps most intriguingly they sometimes indicate the availability of Jewish books for purchase, including Talmud sets.⁸²

1628–30, 1643, 1645, 1647, 1649, 1651, 1655. No Rome imprints at all were listed between 1631 and 1642 or after 1655.

⁸¹ Arnauld Colomiez spent nearly his entire career printing in Toulouse, but between 1640–45 he set up shop in Lodève to print five books, three of them by Jean Plantavit de la Pause. Louis Desgraves, *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au XVII^e siècle*, Tom 9: *Agde, Aramon, Béziers, Carcassonne, Castelnaudary, Lodève, Mende, Montpellier, Narbonne, Nîmes, Perpignan, Pézenas*, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana 97 (Baden-Baden: Valentin Koerner, 1983), 65–66. Lodève imprints nos. 7–8 are repeated listings for nos. 4–5, and number 6 is printed (with consecutive pagination) as a part of no. 4.

⁸² Gatch and Nielsen noted that complete sets of the Bomberg Talmud are extremely rare and that most if not all of them were acquired and bound for Christian collections, whether belonging to nobles or to humanist or oriental scholars. In Jewish bibliographical circles they are referred to at times as “Goyish” Talmuds because of their Christian

Accordingly, book sales catalogues help explain how scholars in these countries that were so important for Hebrew studies after 1620 were able to purchase the books they needed to pursue their studies.

Among English booksellers, Henry Fetherstone was one of the first to publish a dealer's catalogue in 1628, after he purchased 104 Jewish books in Italy to sell in England.⁸³ Richard Martin (1633, 1635, 1639, 1640, 1650), and George Thomason (in partnership with Octavian Pulleyn) in 1637 and 1645 all offered substantial numbers of Jewish titles for sale as well.⁸⁴ Since seven of the eight catalogues specifically represented books purchased in Italy for the English market it is not surprising that Catholic Hebrew and Syriac books were also a part of the offerings, including some of the books that were not listed in the Leipzig or Frankfurt catalogues.⁸⁵ Only Richard Whitaker (1645), and Octavian Pulleyn (1657) printed catalogues with Hebraica books that were written mainly by Protestant authors.⁸⁶

Dutch and French book dealers also had a broad range of Hebraica books to offer Hebraists. Hendrik Laurensz and Jan Jansson of Amsterdam were both Hebrew publishers and Hebrew booksellers. Jansson was the more ambitious of the two, maintaining his own bookshops in Amsterdam, Frankfurt/Main, Danzig, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Königsberg, Geneva, and Lyon. At least thirteen of his book sales catalogues published between 1635 and 1652 contain Hebraica, nine of them catalogues of books available in his Copenhagen shop.⁸⁷ Laurensz's Amsterdam catalogues from 1637 and 1638 also contain a substantial number of

provenance. Milton McC. Gatch and Bruce E. Nielsen, "The Wittenberg Copy of a Bomberg Talmud," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 78 (2003): 296–326, here 296–297.

⁸³ Julian Roberts and G. J. Toomer, "The Fetherstone Catalogue of Hebrew Books," *The Bodleian Library Record* 19/1 (2006): 47–76.

⁸⁴ Fetherstone (1628): STC 10837; Martin (1633): STC 17512, (1635): 17513, (1639): STC 17514, (1640) STC 17515, (1650): Wing M849A; Thomason/Pulleyn (1637): STC 4789; Thomason (1647): Wing T995.

⁸⁵ Richard Martin, for example, listed Catholic Hebrew or oriental imprints in 1633 (eight), 1635 (thirty), 1639 (ten), 1640 (ten), and 1650 (six). His 1635 catalogue contains seven of the Rome imprints not listed by the Leipzig book fair catalogues, six of them Syriac imprints.

⁸⁶ Whitaker (thirty-seven of forty-one) and Pulleyn (102 of 126). See Wing C1447 and Wing P4201, both accessible through EEBO.

⁸⁷ L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands, 1585–1815* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), 140. Eleven of the thirteen catalogues appear in the microform series *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic*. There is an online index available through www.idc.nl. The two remaining catalogues, both for the Stockholm shop, are a part of the microfilm series *Scandinavian culture series*, roll 210, nos. 5a-b.

Hebrew titles.⁸⁸ Booksellers Bonaventure and Abraham Elsevier sold Hebrew books in their catalogues of 1634 and 1638, as did Louis Elsevier in 1649.⁸⁹ While these catalogues contained substantial numbers of Dutch Hebrew titles, they also listed books printed in France, Germany, and even Italy as well. To cite one example, Jan Jansson in his 1640 catalogue listed 110 Hebraica books, including Bibles produced in Amsterdam and Leiden as well as Basel, Frankfurt/Oder, Geneva, Hamburg, and Heidelberg. The catalogue contained thirteen books written by Reformed Hebraist Johannes Buxtorf of Basel and a number of Lutheran authors such as Samuel Bohl (five titles), as well as Dutch authors such as Sixtius Amama, Johannes Drusius (seventeen titles) and Louis de Dieu.⁹⁰ Jansson's 1639 catalogue listed 108 Hebrew books, and contained twelve works by Catholic authors including Robert Bellarimine, Mario Calasio, Petrus Galatinus, Gilbert Génébrard, Francesco Giorgio, Jean Morin, Johannes Pistorius and Caspar Scioppius.⁹¹

French booksellers in Paris also began to market their wares using dealers' catalogues by the late 1630's.⁹² I have examined nineteen of the forty-two extant catalogues printed for Paris book dealers between 1639 and 1660.⁹³ Six of these catalogues contain substantial numbers of Hebrew titles: Thomas Blaise (1641: forty titles), Charles Chastelain II (1646: twenty-three), Guillaume Pele (widow) and Jean du Val (1645: thirty), Simeon Piget (1646: forty-four), Louis de Villac (between 1646 and 1651: 116), and Jacques Villery (1660: twenty-nine).⁹⁴ Apart from the

⁸⁸ *Book Sales Catalogues*, nos. 788, 3030. I examined these catalogues in the British Library, using films Mic.B.619/99 and 619/34.

⁸⁹ *Book Sales Catalogues*, nos. 895A, 1731, 3140.

⁹⁰ Jan Jansson, *Catalogus Librorum exhibens Supellectilem in omni Facultate, Arte, Literaturâ variisque Linguis locupletissimam* (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1640), *Book Sales Catalogues* no. 915, fiche 1516.

⁹¹ Idem, *Bibliotheca Janssoniana Danica sive Designatio Librorum, qui ex Bibliopolio Janssoniano, quod ex Amstelodami, omnibus in Amplissimo Daniae Regno Literatis, in omni Facultatibus ac Linguarum genere, hoc Autumno asportati, venales exhibentur* (Amsterdam: Jansson, 1639), *Book Sales Catalogues* no. 3367, fiche no. 5336.

⁹² Both France (1643–53) and the Netherlands (1639–51) also had short-lived national catalogues for newly printed books, modeled on the German book fair catalogues. See Rudolf Blum, "Vor- und frühgeschichte," 233–303, here 282–292 and 271–278.

⁹³ Giles Mandelbrote, "La Nouvelle Édition de Graham Pollard et Albert Ehrman, The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to AD 1800: Bilan des Travaux Préparatoires: Catalogues Français," in: *Les Ventes de Livres et Leurs Catalogues XVIIe-XXe siècle, études et rencontres de L'École de Chartres* (Paris: École de Chartres, 2000), 49–76, here 63–64.

⁹⁴ *Catalogue des Livres de la Boutique de Thomas Blaise Libraire* (Paris: Blaise, 1641) [BL shelf number S.C.846. (5.)]; Charles Chastelain II, *Catalogus librorum officinae Car. Chastelain; civis et bibliopolar Parisiensis* (Paris: Chastelain, 1646) [Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine

Catholic authors one would expect in an officially Catholic city, the titles also included books by a number of the most important Protestant authors, including Sebastian Münster, Johannes Drusius and Johannes Buxtorf. The sales catalogue for the library of Samuel Le Petit, late professor of Hebrew at the Reformed academy of Nîmes, offered not only a fine selection of Protestant Hebraica, but also sets of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds and several Jewish manuscripts.⁹⁵ Since French monarchs never imposed the Roman Index of Prohibited Books, preferring their own national system of oversight for the book trade, these catalogues also contained the works of condemned authors such as Münster, Drusius and Paulus Ricius.⁹⁶ Of course not every Paris bookseller published sales catalogues, and some of them also sold Hebraica. Gabriel Naude purchased a fourteen volume Babylonian Talmud set from Berthier, a bookseller on the rue Saint-Jacques for 700 livres on 12 December 1644.⁹⁷ Villery offered another Talmud set for sale, together with “*manuscripta rabinica*” in 1660.⁹⁸ Since by 1620 France had become perhaps the most important center of Catholic Hebrew and oriental scholarship, the presence of Protestant Hebrew books on the market, and the absence of the Index, meant that there was a more public discussion of Hebrew scholarship, albeit frequently mixed with religious polemics, than was possible elsewhere within Catholic Europe.⁹⁹

Christian Hebraists and the Jewish Book Trade

Although book fair catalogues and booksellers' catalogues were an efficient means of advertising the availability of Christian Hebraica, they

côte 80 22951–4]; *Catalogue des livres arrivez chez la veuve Pele & Jean du Val ... au mois de Decembre 1645* [Paris: veuve Pelé and Jean du Val, 1645] [BN côte 8-Q-10–399], *Catalogus Librorum qui Reperiuntur in Officina Simeonis Piget Bibliopolae Pariensis* (Paris: Morelliana, Sumptibus, Simeonis Piget, 1646), [HAB Sig. Be 640]; *Catalogue des livres de Louys de Villac, marchand libraire ...* (Paris: s. n., [between 1646 and 1651]) [BN côte 8-Q10A-548]; Jacques Villery, Charles Du Mesnil & Thomas Jolly, *Catalogue de plusieurs livres rares, et curieux* (Paris: Villery, Du Mesnil & Jolly, 1660) [Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine côte 80 36848].

⁹⁵ *Catalogus Librorum Viri Clarissimi Samuelis Petiti* ([Paris]: Simeon Piget, 1645), 7, 77 [Paris: Bibliothèque nationale côte Q 2063].

⁹⁶ All in Villac, *Catalogue des livres*.

⁹⁷ Alfred Franklin, *Histoire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine et du Palais de l'Institut*, 2d ed. (Paris: H. Welter, 1901), 13.

⁹⁸ Villery, Du Mesnil & Jolly, *Catalogue de plusieurs livres rares*, 1.

⁹⁹ Most booksellers of course did not publish stock catalogues, including some very large firms such as Moretus, which owned and sold large stocks of books printed by others. See Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 410–414, 417–422.

seldom performed the same service for Jewish imprints.¹⁰⁰ Not one Jewish book printed before 1600 appeared in the various Frankfurt/Main catalogues (1564–1600) or in the Leipzig catalogues which began to appear in 1594. Even Conrad Waldkirch of Basel, who produced both Jewish and Christian books and regularly advertised his new books in the book fair catalogues, did not advertise his Jewish imprints.¹⁰¹ Only eighteen volumes of the thirty-one produced with both Jewish and Christian customers in mind were advertised by the Leipzig catalogues between 1601 and 1660: a Hanau Bible imprint, two Basel Hebrew Bibles, including Buxtorf's famous edition of the Rabbinic Bible of 1618–19, and ten Amsterdam imprints, eight of them produced by Menasseh ben Israel between 1631 and 1647.¹⁰² For both institutional purchasers and Christian Hebraists this gap in coverage was never satisfactorily bridged, but by consulting such book dealers' catalogues as existed and by direct purchase of books from Jewish book dealers or owners, and increasingly from other Christian owners, they were able to create Judaica libraries of their own.

While Menasseh ben Israel was probably not the first Jewish dealer to use book catalogues to advertise Judaica books, he was still an innovator in that he printed a transliterated catalogue in 1648, using the Latin alphabet so that Christian customers, even those whose Hebrew was poor, could purchase from him. He succeeded in finding both local customers such as Constantine L'Empereur of Leiden University and the Amsterdam City Library, and also buyers in distant lands such as John Selden and Queen Christina of Sweden.¹⁰³ One other Amsterdam Jewish book stock catalogue has survived from the period: Samuel ben Israel Soerio's title list from 1652.¹⁰⁴

English dealers' catalogues provide evidence of a robust market for Judaica among English scholars from the 1630's through the 1650's.

¹⁰⁰ The various Frankfurt catalogues printed before 1600 have been published together as a set: *Die Messkataloge des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts: Faksimiledrucke*, 5 vols., ed. Bernhard Fabian (Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms, 1972–2001).

¹⁰¹ Waldkirch probably only printed the books, receiving payment from Jewish sponsors who then sold the books. Waldkirch would have had no reason to list books that he printed but did not sell. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, 44.

¹⁰² Fuks/Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 1: 99–114.

¹⁰³ L. and R. Fuks, "Menasseh Ben Israel as a bookseller in light of new data," *Quaerendo* 11 (1981): 34–45, here 36, 38, 40–45.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 38–39. On his relations with Queen Christina, see David S. Katz, "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1651–1655," *Jewish Social Studies* 45 (1983–84): 57–72.

Henry Fetherstone, an English dealer, purchased 104 Hebrew books from a dealer in Venice, including improbably a Bomberg Talmud that somehow escaped the Venetian Inquisition.¹⁰⁵ Fetherstone sold the majority of these books to Sion College, a library serving the London clergy.¹⁰⁶ Richard Martin and George Thomason, two former apprentices of Fetherstone, would follow his example and make large purchases of Jewish books when they entered the business during the 1630's and 1640's. Unusually, Martin sold Hebrew manuscripts in addition to Hebrew imprints in his 1635 and 1639 catalogues.¹⁰⁷ A generous English Parliament, at the urging of John Selden and John Lightfoot, purchased Thomason's entire stock of Hebrew for Cambridge University Library in 1647.¹⁰⁸

English booksellers were not the only purchasing agents to enter the Jewish market. Johannes Buxtorf the younger took advantage of his contacts among Jewish booksellers to enter the market himself. He sold a large consignment of books to the Zurich City Library in 1642, and he

Table 5.5. English booksellers of Hebrew

Dealer	Year	Christian Hebraica	Jewish Books	Total
Fetherstone	1628	0	104	104
Martin	1633	14	117	131
Martin	1635	38	219	257
Thomason/Pulley	1637	15	32	47
Martin	1639	18	108	126
Martin	1640	19	93	112
Thomason	1647	13	287	300
Martin	1650	10	81	91
Pulley	1657	156	4	160

¹⁰⁵ Gatch and Nielsen, "Wittenberg Copy," 299.

¹⁰⁶ Roberts and Toomer, "Featherstone Catalogue," 48–55.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Martin, *Catalogus Librorum tam Impressorum quam Manuscriptorum* (London: Haviland, 1635), eighty works (thirty mss) and idem. *Catalogus Librorum ex Praecipuis Italiae Emporiis Selectum* (London: Thomas Harper, 1639), ninety works (twelve mss). In 1640 Martin noted only "Libri varii Manuscripti hebraica lingua." *Catalogus Librorum Plurimis Linguis Scriptorum* (London: Thomas Harper, 1640), 14v.

¹⁰⁸ Israel Abrahams and C. E. Sayle, "Purchase of Hebrew Books by the English Parliament in 1647," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* (1915): 63–77, here p. 67.

also served as a supplier for Cardinal Richelieu.¹⁰⁹ Johannes Saubert the Younger of the University of Helmstedt served as Duke August the Younger's purchasing agent, using his contacts among Jewish scholars and booksellers to supply titles to the growing court library in Wolfenbüttel during the 1660's.¹¹⁰

For the most part, however, purchasing Jewish books meant doing business with Jewish dealers directly, most often from the three hubs of the Jewish book trade in Western Europe: Venice, Frankfurt/Main, and Amsterdam. From the very beginning of Hebrew printing Venice had been a center of the Jewish book trade. When Conrad Pellican sought to build up his Hebrew library, he sent his brother-in-law Johannes Fries there to purchase a substantial number of Hebrew books.¹¹¹ Joseph Scaliger purchased Hebrew books from Venice booksellers through French contacts.¹¹² The title of Richard Martin's book dealer catalogue of 1635 specifically mentions Venice as a source of his wares, and Fetherstone's Italian agent also purchased some of his books in Venice that would appear in the 1628 catalogue as well.¹¹³ Leon Modena helped Jean Plantavit de la Pause begin creating his own Judaica library as early as 1609, and he presumably worked with Jacques Gaffarel when the latter purchased books on behalf of Cardinal Richelieu.¹¹⁴

The Frankfurt/Main book fairs attracted Jewish booksellers and customers until the Thirty Years War disrupted commerce. Frankfurt was a natural outlet not only for the Hanau Jewish press (1610–1630) and for the various Basel firms that printed Jewish books between 1578 and 1612, but also for Italian Jewish books and even for Polish and Bohemian presses. When Lucas Edenberger, the librarian of the Wittenberg University Library, sought to purchase a Talmud in 1541, he planned to order a copy from Venice through booksellers at the Frankfurt book fair, only to be

¹⁰⁹ Mayer Kayserling, "Richelieu, Buxtorf Père et Fils, Jacob Roman," *Revue des études juives* 8 (1884): 74–95, here 74–75, 79–83.

¹¹⁰ Wolf-Dieter Otte, "Duke August and his Revision of the Holy Bible," in: *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Helwig Schmidt-Glintzer (New York: Grolier Club, 1998), 147–164, here 155.

¹¹¹ Pellican, *Chronikon*, 170–172.

¹¹² Peter T. Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden*, Studies in the History of Leiden University 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 101.

¹¹³ Roberts and Toomer, "Fetherstone Catalogue," 47–48, 52–53.

¹¹⁴ See Ludwig Blau, "Plantavits Lehrer im Rabbinischen," *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* 10 (1996): 113–120, here 116, and *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah*, trans. and ed. Mark R. Cohen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 256, note i.

deterred by its high cost.¹¹⁵ Individual Christian scholars also shopped in Frankfurt to purchase Jewish books. Johannes Buxtorf the elder regularly visited the Frankfurt book fair as a representative of the Waldkirch press, and he used these visits to purchase Jewish books for his library. He also purchased books for several colleagues, including both Drusius and Scaliger.¹¹⁶ When Buxtorf could not attend or between fairs he sent lists of books to correspondents in the Frankfurt area such as Walter Keuchen, and perhaps also Seligmann Ulma, the corrector of the Jewish press at Hanau from 1610–1615. Seligmann also purchased books for Wolfgang Ratke and for Johannes Drusius in distant Franeker.¹¹⁷

Although Amsterdam only came into its own as a center of Jewish book sales in the late 1620's, it developed quickly thanks to the entrepreneurial activity of Menasseh ben Israel and his lesser-known colleagues. Apart from his local sales business, Menassah also visited the Frankfurt book fair in 1634, both to sell books and to purchase Hebrew type for his press.¹¹⁸ He sought to expand his business by encouraging his son Joseph to leave the Dutch Republic and live in Lublin where he could sell books as his father's agent and take part in the annual Jewish book fair.¹¹⁹ Another part time bookseller, Rabbi David Cohen de Lara, corresponded with Jean Tileman Stella in Paris when the latter sought Jewish books for Cardinal Richelieu's library in 1641–1642.¹²⁰

In addition to Jewish booksellers, both Amsterdam and Leiden also had a lively secondary market in Jewish books where Christians sold to

¹¹⁵ "Hat keine Thalmudicos libros in Venedig kaufen lassen, weil diese dort im Preise aufgeschlagen sind" Lucas Edenberger to Spalatin, [Wittenberg], 25 April 1541, printed in: *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg*, Teil 1 (1502–1611), ed. Walter Friedenburg (Magdeburg: Historischen Kommission für die Provinz Sachsen und für Anhalt, 1920), 225, no. 230. By 1545, however, the Wittenberg library had its own Talmud. Gatch and Nielsen, "Wittenberg Copy," 311.

¹¹⁶ Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism*, 44–45, 162.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 47. Seligmann was mentioned in a letter of Johannes Drusius Jr. to Johannes Buxtorf I, n. p., 13 January 1609; printed in: L. Fuks, "Het Hebreeuwse Brievenboek van Johannes Drusius Jr. Hebreuws en Hebraïsten in Nederland Rondom 1600." *Studia Rosenthaliana* 3 (1969): 1–52, here 44–45. On Seligman and Ratke, see Uwe Kordes, *Wolfgang Ratke (Ratichius, 1571–1635): Gesellschaft, Religiösität und Gelehrsamkeit im frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1999), 39 and n. 43. Seligman once boasted that he had taught Hebrew to both Drusius and Buxtorf. Eckhard Meise, *Konversion und Assimilation: Taufen von Menschen Fremder Konfessionen in Hanau bis ins 19. Jahrhundert*, Hanauer Geschichtsblätter 37 (Hanau: Hanauer Geschichtsverein, 1999), 33.

¹¹⁸ Fuks and Fuks Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*, 1: 106.

¹¹⁹ Idem and idem, "Menasseh ben Israel as a bookseller," 38.

¹²⁰ Moïse Schwab, "Trois Lettres de David Cohen de Lara," *Revue des études juives* 40 (1900): 95–98. See also the corrections supplied by Israel Lévy, "Additions et Rectifications," *Revue des études juives* 41 (1900): 160.

other Christians. The most important way that this took place was through public auctions of scholarly libraries, advertised by printed estate catalogues. Constantine L'Empereur was able to purchase a number of books from the estate of Thomas Erpenius, his predecessor as professor of Hebrew at Leiden, including a Bomberg Talmud. He also purchased Jewish books from the estate sale of Johannes Boreel. Four different Dutch Hebraists owned a single copy of Paul Fagius's printing of David Kimhi's Psalms commentary over the course of the seventeenth century, illustrating the efficiency of this used book market. Availability of books for purchase did not, however, ensure bargain prices. L'Empereur paid 225 Guilders for the Bomberg Talmud, nearly half of his annual salary.¹²¹

Of course it was not essential that Christian Hebraists purchase books from one of these hubs. Both the elder and younger Johannes Buxtorf had dealings with Jewish booksellers who were not based in these centers of the trade. Abraham Braunschweig of Lengnau (near Zurich) sold books to both Buxtorfs for more than twenty years.¹²² In 1590, Johannes Drusius ordered a copy of the Basel Talmud from Moses ben Jacob Halevi, a bookseller living in Emden. Drusius specified that he also wanted a copy of tractate *Avodah zara* to complete the set, although he was not to receive it until 1604 or later.¹²³ When Duke August the Younger of Wolfenbüttel wished to purchase a Talmud in 1665, he did so from Moses ben Judah Leib Lipschitz of Helmstedt, who in turn purchased it from Jacob Fidanque of Hamburg.¹²⁴

The growth of Christian Hebrew printing after 1500 was a genuine innovation even for such a young and vibrant industry. These printers produced books written for the most part in Latin, but with greater or lesser amounts of Hebrew text, for a rapidly emerging Christian Hebrew readership. The willingness of major printing firms such as the Estiennes

¹²¹ Van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies*, 92 and n. 133, 101, 119 n. 99. The Psalms commentary was owned by Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641), Johannes Coccejus (1603–1669), Melchior Leidekker (1642–1721) and Adrian Reeland (1676–1718).

¹²² Kayserling, "Richelieu," 80, 84.

¹²³ L. and R. Fuks, "Hebrew Book production and Booktrade in the Northern Netherlands and their German Connections in the 17th Century," in: *De Arte et Libris. Festschrift Erasmus 1934–1984*, ed. Abraham Horodisch (Amsterdam: Erasmus Antiquariaat en Boekhandel, 1984), 173–178, here, 174.

¹²⁴ K. Wilhelm, "The Duke and the Talmud," *Kiryat Sefer* 12/4 (1936): 494–497 [Hebrew]; Marvin J. Heller reported the incident in *Printing the Talmud: A History of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Talmud* (Brooklyn: Im Hasefer, 1992), 361–362, but incorrectly gave the year as 1685. Moses ben Judah is mentioned in Glückel of Hameln's *Memoires* as Moses Helmstedt.

of Paris, Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, the Frobens and Petris of Basel, and Crato in Wittenberg to produce many such titles is a strong indication of how much customer demand existed for them. While printers were always willing to produce works on commission, when the author or a patron paid directly for their production, such opportunities were rare where Christian Hebrew books was concerned. Above all among Protestants, but also among Catholics in France and in the Spanish Netherlands, demand for Christian Hebrew books was customer-driven. The motive power of biblical humanism and its confessional successors, mediated through university curricula, impelled Christian students in large numbers to learn a language that until 1500 was marginal to academic concerns. The growing availability of Hebrew books also reflects a growing number of Christian Hebraica authors whose books could only become available through these same profit-driven Hebrew printers.

These printers, working through their own agents and intermediaries, were able to make potential customers aware of their books by using a variety of printed advertising media. Until 1620 Frankfurt/Main with its twice-annual book trade served as the central distribution point for the European book market, and its book sale catalogues were the closest equivalent to a continent-wide register of newly printed books. Even after the Thirty Years War cut much of Germany off from the rest of Europe and their catalogue coverage shrank, the German book fair catalogues were still important sources of information for Christian Hebraists. Christian Hebrew printers, in most case general printers who printed Hebrew as a sideline, made good use of them to market their books. The major booksellers in northern Europe who published their own trade catalogues, and in some cases maintained satellite bookshops in other countries, were able to assume some of the task of advertising new Hebraica books as they became available after 1620.

Given the scope of the European book market one would expect that the widespread awareness of these books and their availability for purchase would result in a Europe-wide professional conversation about Hebrew and Jewish texts. The reasons that such a conversation did not occur will be the subject of the final chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

PRESS CONTROLS AND THE HEBRAIST DISCOURSE IN REFORMATION EUROPE

The intellectual and theological issues that fueled the Reformation sparked scholarly conversations about Hebrew and Jewish texts throughout Europe. The emergence of a significant number of Christian Hebrew authors, the growth of a Christian readership for Hebraica, the ability and willingness of some printers to produce such texts, and the existence of distributors and booksellers to make them available for sale were all necessary preconditions for such conversations to take place. But as the Reformation created the possibility of a Europe-wide, trans-confessional discussion of Christian Hebraica, the Catholic Church and some European governments placed important limits upon that discussion. For an academic discussion to take place, scholars had to be able to read each other's books and respond to them publicly in print, quoting their supporters and foes by name and characterizing their views. The post-Tridentine Catholic Church refused to allow Catholic Hebraists to participate in this discussion, effectively limiting it to northern European Protestants and French Catholics.

Reformation-era governments instituted press controls for a variety of reasons, including the protection of religion and their established churches, as well as of the political order, good morals, and the reputations of those in power.¹ They also sought to suppress forbidden knowledge and practices involving various forms of magic and witchcraft. Local officials exercised their authority primarily in three ways, by vetting manuscripts or books before they were printed, by ordering the expurgation of books after they were printed (or in reprint editions), or by an outright ban on certain titles or authors.² The religious division of Europe transformed what had been a routine function of local government into a

¹ Helmut Neumann, *Staatliche Bücherzensur und -aufsicht in Bayern von der Reformation bis zum Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg and Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller Juristischer Verlag, 1977), ix.

² Alban Norbert Lüber, "Die Basler Zensurpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 97 (1997): 77–141, here 79–83.

matter of national and even international importance. The introduction of indices of printed books by the mid-sixteenth century spurred a dramatic expansion of press controls within southern Europe that had implications for Catholic lands north of the Alps and Pyrenees. Andrew Pettegree has noted that this new development “signaled that the conflict of ideas had entered a new phase: mere possession of a forbidden text became evidence of heresy. Booksellers faced denunciation by their customers, and confiscation of their stock; printers faced the loss of their press.”³ To this we can add that owners of suspect texts and even authors who cited banned books were also suspected of heresy and could therefore be subject to sanction and punishment by the state. The true goal of any systematic press control regimen, however, was not simply to suppress unacceptable texts but also to secure the “internalization of the claims of the authorities.”⁴ Successful censorship of public discourse necessarily involves all participants in what Darnton has termed the communication cycle.⁵ Authors were to practice self-censorship, printers were to produce only texts that were approved by the authorities, and both booksellers and their customers were to shun banned books.

Luther and the Growth of Press Controls

The Reformation was at its heart a struggle over religious authority between the Catholic Church and the newer Protestant confessions. Since the majority of Christian Hebrew books were categorized by the book trade itself as religious books and listed in the Frankfurt and Leipzig Book Fair catalogues under the headings of Lutheran, Reformed or Catholic theology, they were natural candidates for review under almost any European regimen of press controls. The legal and theological definitions of what constituted a “heretical” Hebraist book differed considerably from country to country, although in most cases the authorities judged such

³ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 206.

⁴ “Zensur [zieht] aus die Internalisierung von Herrschaftsansprüchen.” *Zensur in der BRD. Fakten und Analysen*, ed. Michael Kienzle and Dirk Mende (München: Hanser, 1980), 231.

⁵ Robert Darnton, “What is the History of Books?” in: *Books and Society in History: Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference, 24–28 June, 1980*, ed. Kenneth E. Carpenter (New York and London: Bowker, 1983), 3–28, here 6.

books in light of an author's entire literary production. If an author had advanced objectionable or heretical views in previous books, his works on Hebraica were condemned as a matter of course. While there were bitter arguments between Hebraist authors of different confessions over a variety of questions in northern Europe, the views they expressed were seldom branded as heretical by the authorities. By contrast Hebraist discourse in both Italy and Spain was tightly regulated by church and secular authorities, who were guided by Indexes of Prohibited Books. While recent scholars have rightly questioned the overall effects of these lists of banned books in Catholic Europe, the Roman and Spanish Indexes did have a noticeable impact upon Christian Hebraist scholarship in southern Europe.

Church authorities recognized that the printing press could be used to promote heresy even before the Reformation. As early as 1475, Pope Sixtus IV authorized the University of Cologne to "censor printers, publishers, authors, and even readers of pernicious books." In 1501, Pope Alexander VI in his Bull *Inter Multiplices* mandated preventive censorship in Germany, and Pope Leo X at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1515 "forbade the printing of any books except with the authorization of the ecclesiastical powers."⁶ These pronouncements (at least outside of the Papal States, where the pope was in a position to enforce his mandates directly) should be understood as statements of intent whose implementation depended entirely upon the secular authorities of particular cities and territories.

Secular authorities throughout Europe agreed in principle that prepublication censorship was necessary in order to prevent political sedition, blasphemy, and disturbances in public order as well as to prevent the spread of heresy.⁷ The coming of the Reformation and especially the emergence of Martin Luther as its chief spokesman forced both church and state authorities throughout Europe to specify not only what constituted heresy but also to implement press controls. Luther's works were condemned first by Pope Leo X in the Bull *Exsurge Domine* on 15 June 1520. Emperor Charles V incorporated the pope's condemnation into German imperial law through the Edict of Worms (1521). This decree constituted the first systematic treatment of press controls in the laws of the

⁶ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450–1800*, trans. David Gerard (London & New York: Verso, 1990), 244–245.

⁷ Alfred Soman, "Press, Pulpit and Censorship in France Before Richelieu," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120/6 (1976): 439–463, here 441.

Holy Roman Empire.⁸ As ruler of Burgundy (Spanish Netherlands), Charles V signed an order for the destruction of all Lutheran books discovered there on 28 September 1520.⁹ The Paris faculty of theology condemned Luther's works on 1 August 1521, though the Parlement of Paris did not attempt to suppress the printing and distribution of Protestant literature until after the emergence of Geneva as a ready source of Protestant propaganda in the early 1540's.¹⁰ In 1524, Cuthbert Tunstall, the Bishop of London, issued the first English regulations that required ecclesiastical permission either to import books from abroad or to print books in England as a response to the imported Protestant books. Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor of England, initiated the first attempt by the crown to limit and control the circulation of books.¹¹ Throughout northern Europe Luther's works provided an occasion for the authorities not only to condemn a Protestant leader's books, but also to begin clarifying the laws concerning prepublication censorship and the control of the book trade more generally.

Roman Index of Prohibited Books

Catholic authorities, both ecclesiastical and secular, also pioneered a further means of improving press controls by creating printed indexes of prohibited books. Books listed in these indexes were not to be printed, purchased or circulated in any form. The first index was published in Paris by the Paris theology faculty on its own authority on 19 August 1544, and then reissued ten months later jointly by the faculty and by the Parlement of Paris on 20 July 1545.¹² Other regional indexes of prohibited books were published, among other cities, in Lucca (1545), Louvain (1546, 1550, 1558),

⁸ Hans-Peter Hasse, *Zensur theologischer Bücher in Kursachsen im konfessionellen Zeitalter. Studien zur kursächsischen Literatur- und Religionspolitik in den Jahren 1569 bis 1575*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 5 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 24.

⁹ H. K. F. van Nierop, "Censorship, Illicit Printing, and the Revolt of the Netherlands," in: *Too Mighty To Be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1987), 29–44, here 30.

¹⁰ Francis M. Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne: A Bibliographical Study of Books In French Censured by the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris 1520–1551*, *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 152 (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 23, 50.

¹¹ David Loades, "Books and the English Reformation prior to 1558," in: idem, *Politics, Censorship and the English Reformation* (London and New York: Pinter Publishers, 1991), 127–147, here 129.

¹² Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne*, 62.

Venice (1549), and Venice/Milan (1554) before the first Roman Index was published in 1559.¹³ The Spanish Inquisition issued its own indexes of prohibited books in 1551, 1554, and 1559, and it would continue to do so after the publication of the first Roman Index.¹⁴ These regional and even national indexes were limited in their applicability and in their reporting where heretical books were concerned. The Roman Index was in theory subject to none of these limitations.

Pope Paul IV ordered that a catalogue of forbidden books be created in 1557 and published it by his authority two years later. It contained more than 904 condemnations, including the complete works of 606 authors, 126 specific titles by known authors, and 332 anonymous works, most of them involving astrology or magic. Christian Hebraist authors appeared in both the first and second categories. All of the arch-heretic Luther's works were banned under the first category, but only Johannes Reuchlin's two books on Kabbalah, *De arte Cabalistica* and *De verbo mirifico*, were listed under the second. The 1559 Index condemned not only authors and titles, but also forty-five printings of the Bible or New Testament, and even sixty-one printing houses that were suspect because they had produced heretical books in the past.¹⁵ This index of prohibited books, issued by the pope carried the stamp of theological authority and a claim to universal applicability. Its condemnations were so sweeping that it proved to be impractical to use as a tool of press oversight and would soon be replaced by another index, produced by a committee of bishops at the Council of Trent.¹⁶

The Tridentine Index of 1564 was a much more measured document. It issued 1,168 condemnations of authors and titles, under the same categories: heretical authors and forbidden titles by known and unknown authors.¹⁷ Rather than simply issuing condemnations, it also provided guidance to both church and secular officials and to printers and book-sellers, so that they could identify books worthy of condemnation.¹⁸

¹³ *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance*, s. v. "Index of Prohibited Books" (by J. M. de Bujanda).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 257. J. M. De Bujanda, *Index de L'Inquisition Espagnole 1551, 1554, 1559* (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 1984).

¹⁵ Christopher F. Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 162–163.

¹⁶ Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text. The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Jackie Feldman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 59.

¹⁷ Black, *Italian Inquisition*, 163.

¹⁸ H. J. Schroeder, ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent: Original Text and English Translation* (1941; reprint: London: Herder, 1960), 273–278.

The new rules also allowed for expurgation of some books that contained objectionable passages but were otherwise worthwhile. Perhaps the most famous book that fell into this category was the Talmud, though Pope Clement VIII would later condemn the Talmud outright on 10 June 1596, allowing no possibility for its rehabilitation.¹⁹ The rules also urged the “inspection of bookshops, cargoes imported from abroad, and books bequeathed by inheritance.”²⁰

In 1571, Pope Pius V ordered the creation of a new organ, the Congregation of the Index, to oversee the book market as a whole by identifying books worthy of condemnation and periodically to issue updated versions of the Roman Index. The congregation would issue its first Index in 1596, condemning a further 1,143 authors and books. The Roman Inquisition, however, refused to cede all authority over the book trade to the new congregation and continued to play a role in supervising the book trade.²¹ In Rome itself the Master of the Sacred Palace also participated in overseeing the book trade.²² The division of authority and labor between these three offices resulted in long-running battles between them and even at times with the popes to whom they were subject.²³

The Roman Index of 1596 prescribed further measures to ensure that banned books were not printed. It demanded that Catholic bookmen swear an oath before the bishop and inquisitor that they would obey the Index and not knowingly admit anyone suspected of heresy into their guild.²⁴ Printers were also required to print the name of the author, the title of the book, the place of publication, and the year on the title page as a way of establishing legal accountability for the text, the printer, and the authorities who permitted it to be produced.²⁵ Venetian authorities flatly

¹⁹ Fausto Parente, “The Index, the Holy Office, the condemnation of the Talmud and publication of Clement VIII’s Index,” in: *Church, Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 163–193, here 192–193.

²⁰ Bujanda, “Index,” 257–258.

²¹ The authority of the Roman Inquisition over the book trade actually increased during the late sixteenth century, and Pope Clement VIII’s effort to distinguish between its authority and that of the Congregation of the Index was unsuccessful. Black, *Italian Inquisition*, 161–163.

²² Peter Godman, *The Saint as Censor: Robert Bellarmine Between Inquisition and Index* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 7–10, 28–32.

²³ Black, *Italian Inquisition*, 161–162.

²⁴ Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 264.

²⁵ Printers already were required by law to provide such statements of responsibility in the Spanish Netherlands (1520), France (Edict of Chateaubriand, 1551), the Holy Roman Empire (*Reichsabschied* of Speyer, 5 December 1570), and the newly formed Dutch

refused to publish the 1596 Index because its provisions would have placed local censors under papal authority, thereby undercutting the independence of Venice. This disagreement together with others resulted in Venice's being placed under an interdict in 1606–1607.²⁶

While the 1564 index allowed for the possibility of rehabilitating some condemned books through expurgation, no institution existed to carry out this function until the Congregation of the Index was founded. The condemnation of some authors, especially those who wrote before the Reformation or who like Erasmus chose to remain Catholics after it began, was considered unjust by many Catholics. Moreover both academics and those engaged in the learned professions such as medicine and law had to consult books written by Protestant authors. In response to these concerns, the Tridentine committee allowed for a milder type of ban, “until expurgated” (*donec emendentur*), which allowed for a book's use and reprinting after any offensive opinions or expressions were removed. The theoretical possibility of rehabilitation through expurgation proved to be extremely difficult to realize in practice. By the end of the sixteenth century the Congregation of the Index attempted to establish local ‘congregations of the index’ under the authority of bishops to perform some of the task.²⁷ Some towns became known for their specialties in reviewing texts. For example, canon law texts were sent to Bologna, civil law to Perugia, and medicine and philosophy books to Padua.²⁸ The Congregation in Rome itself reviewed some books and also attempted to coordinate the task, collecting expurgation notes from local committees and seeking to provide instructions for expurgating useful books. They did not, however, publish these censorship instructions.

Giovanni Maria Guanzelli (Brisinghella), Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome, wrote the first and only expurgation manual, which explained how to “correct” a few books in 1607. It was judged deeply flawed and removed from circulation a short time later.²⁹ The manual contained instructions to expurgate seven Hebraist books, five of them by Catholic authors and

Republic. See van Nierop, “Censorship, Illicit Printing,” 30; Higman, *Censorship and the Sorbonne*, 65; Hasse, *Zensur Theologischer Bücher*, 35; S. Groenveld, “Mecca of Authors? States Assemblies and Censorship in the Seventeenth Century Dutch Republic,” in: *Too Mighty To Be Free*, 63–86, here 68.

²⁶ Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 154–161, 282–283.

²⁷ Gigliola Fragnito, “The Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship,” *Church, Censorship and Culture*, 13–49, here 36–44.

²⁸ Black, *Roman Inquisition*, 170.

²⁹ Godman, *Saint as Censor*, 173.

two by Protestants.³⁰ The Catholic books included Sanctes Pagninus' Hebrew lexicon, *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* as edited by Jean Mercier, the annotations of Franciscus Vatable in Robert Estienne's Latin Bibles, Andreas Masius' commentary on the book of Joshua, and Francesco Giorgio's two most important kabbalistic works. The two Protestant books by Johannes Forster and Sebastian Münster were both Hebrew dictionaries.³¹

For Italian Jews the decree on expurgation was a nightmarish new innovation that caused them grief off and on for the next two hundred years. The only Jewish book to receive the designation "unless expurgated" was the Talmud. Parente chronicled a series of attempts by Italian Jews to create a sufficiently expurgated Talmud text that would be acceptable to papal authorities between 1559 and the final condemnation of the work in 1593.³² Pope Clement VIII's reaffirmation of the condemnation of the Talmud, made on 28 February 1593, was expansive in its wording and may have been part of the impetus for a zealous expurgation campaign directed against Jewish libraries in Italy during the last decade of the sixteenth century. Pope Clement's decree against the Talmud and other Jewish books was reprinted in the 1596 Roman Index.

[O]ur Most Holy Master, Pope Clement VIII, in his decree against the impious writings and books of the Hebrews, dated Rome at Saint Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1592 [i. e., 1593], on the day before the Kalends of March [28 February 1593], in the second year of his pontificate, prohibited and condemned those works. And therefore his intention now is not that they in any way, even under any of those conditions, be permitted or tolerated, but he specifically and expressly states and wishes that that kind of impious Talmudic, cabbalistic, and other Hebrew books should remain and be considered entirely condemned and prohibited, and that against them and other books of similar kind the above mentioned decree shall be inviolably and forever observed.³³

³⁰ The index also contains an entry with corrections for some of Arias Montano's biblical works, but does not list them in the table of contents. *An Exact Reprint of the Roman Index expurgatorius. The only Vatican index of this kind ever published*, ed. Richard Gibbings (1608; reprint: Dublin: Milliken, 1837), 33–40.

³¹ *Roman Index expurgatorius*, 21, 40–54, 373–460, 506, 595.

³² Parente, "The Index, the Holy Office," 163–193. See also Salo Baron, "The Council of Trent and Rabbinic Literature," in: Salo Baron, *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History: Essays by Salo Baron*, ed. Leon A. Feldman (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 353–364.

³³ Translated by William Popper in his book, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899), 90. The Latin text of the decree, together with the note prohibiting translation of the Mahzor, was printed in the *Index Librorum*

The 1596 Index also included general condemnations of the “Commentaries of Rabbi Salomon [Rashi] and Chimi [Kimhi] and Hierosolymitano, both the Hebrew and the Latin translation of Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius, heretics.”³⁴ Although a Papal letter dated 17 April 1593 expressly approved the use of Jewish biblical commentaries by Jews, as did another letter from the Congregation of the Index to the Jewish community of Rome dated 24 August 1596, the wording of Pope Clement’s condemnation reprinted in the 1596 Index remained as a potential source of trouble for Jews.³⁵ Pope Clement’s ban on the use of “impious Talmudic, cabbalistic and other Hebrew books” was imprecise enough that it could also have affected the reading, study, and publishing plans of Christian Hebraists had local authorities in Italy wished to act. Catholic scholars could even have been prohibited from using Rabbinic Bibles, which contained Jewish Bible commentaries.

In what proved to be the most pervasive example of book market oversight in early modern times, Catholic authorities throughout Italy employed Jewish converts as well as Christian inspectors to examine the contents of Jewish libraries and then to expurgate individual books and manuscripts. The best known of the expurgators was Domenico Gerosolimitano, the author of a famous expurgation manual, who once estimated that he had himself checked 20,000 books.³⁶ While Jews may not have been party to the Protestant revolt, the new papal standards and policies of policing the book trade developed to meet the Protestant threat affected Jewish printers and book owners in Italy most harshly of all.

The Roman *Index of Prohibited Books* was in principle a powerful tool in forbidding the spread of heresy in general and of heretical books by Christian Hebraists in particular. Through its general condemnations of authors such as Sebastian Münster and its condemnations of specific titles such as Reuchlin’s *De Verbo Mirifico* and *De Arte Cabalistica*, the 1564 Index effectively banned 278 Christian Hebrew books, 261 of which were printed before 1600, 23.1% of the total number of imprints (1126).

Prohibitorum (Rome: Camerales, 1596), unfoliated, but the leaf immediately before fol. A1r. See also Parente, “The Index, The Holy Office,” 191.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Parente, “The Index, The Holy Office,” 185. See also Moritz Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden* (Kiel: H. Fiencke, 1893), 166–168 for the text of the letter.

³⁶ Shifra Baruchson-Arbib and Gila Prebor, “Sefer Ha-Ziquq (An Index of forbidden Hebrew books): the Book’s use and its influence on Hebrew Printing,” *La Bibliofilia: Rivista di storia del libro e di bibliografia* 109 (2007): 3–31.

Table 6.1. Hebraica authors condemned in Roman Index of 1564

Name	Confession	Country	Hebraica books banned
Agrippa, Cornelius	Catholic	Germany	10
Artopoeus, Peter	Protestant	Germany	7
Bibliander, Theodor	Protestant	Switzerland	3
Borrhaus, Martin	Protestant	Germany	5
Bucer, Martin	Protestant	Germany	4
Campen, Jan van den	Catholic	Spanish Netherlands	12
Capito, Wolfgang	Protestant	Germany	8
Draconites, Johannes	Protestant	Germany	8
Estienne, Robert	Protestant	France	43
Fagius, Paul	Protestant	Germany	13
Flacius, Matthias	Protestant	Germany	5
Forster, Johannes	Protestant	Germany	2
Humphrey, Lawrence	Protestant	England	1
Lepusculus, Sebastian	Protestant	Switzerland	3
Melanchthon, Philip	Protestant	Germany	1
Münster, Sebastian	Protestant	Switzerland	83
Musculus, Wolfgang	Protestant	Switzerland	8
Oecolampadius, Johannes	Protestant	Switzerland	25
Pellican, Conrad	Protestant	Switzerland	14
Postel, Guillaume	Catholic	France	11
Reuchlin, Anton	Protestant	Germany	1
Reuchlin, Johannes	Catholic	Germany	12
Ricius, Paul	Catholic	Germany	3
Schreckenfuchs, Erasmus	Protestant	Germany	2
Servetus, Michael	Protestant Radical	France	2
Stancarus, Franciscus	Protestant Radical	Germany	3
Westheimer, Bartholomaeus	Protestant	Germany	9

Of the authors in this table, all except Anton Reuchlin and Johannes Reuchlin had all of their titles condemned without exception because they were heretics. Only five of the condemned authors were Catholics, while the remaining twenty-one were Protestant. The reasons for their condemnation varied considerably. Some Protestants, such as Bucer, Capito, Flacius, Draconites, Melanchthon and Oecolampadius, were probably condemned primarily for their theological books rather than Hebraic interests. Pellican and Fagius were condemned specifically because of the Judaica books that they translated.³⁷ Of the Catholics, Agrippa, Johannes Reuchlin and Ricius were condemned for their interest in Kabbalah and magic, while Postel and van den Campen were heterodox Catholics.³⁸ Michael Servetus and Franciscus Stancarus were out and out religious radicals, condemned by Protestants and Catholics alike.³⁹ The vast majority of Hebraist authors in the 1564 Roman Index were either German or German-speaking Swiss (eighteen) with a mere two French Hebraists, and one each of five other nationalities.

By declaring these authors and their works beyond the pale of theological orthodoxy, the Catholic Church forbade the faithful not only to print, import or read these works, but also to quote from them. This ban had a noticeable impact upon the discussion of Hebraica. Before the book was banned in a series of Catholic indexes, Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia* (1534–35, 1546) with annotations had had a wide Catholic readership. According to his eulogist Schreckenfuchs, Münster corresponded with Catholic theologians in Cologne, Italy, France, and Spain about his book. Taddeo Cuchi, an Italian Benedictine scholar, made extensive use of it in his own biblical commentary of 1542.⁴⁰ The situation changed after all of Münster's works were condemned by the Roman Indexes of 1559 and 1564. While Italian authorities could not absolutely prevent Catholic scholars from reading Münster's works, they could ban their books if Münster's name appeared in them. Benito Arias Montano was shocked

³⁷ Raz-Krakotzkin, *Censor, the Editor, and the Text*, 75.

³⁸ Campen was included because of alleged antitrinitarianism, while Postel was a proverbial theological free spirit. J. M. De Bujanda, *Index des livres interdits*, vol. 8: *Index de Rome: 1557, 1559, 1564; les premiers index romains et l'index du Concile de Trente* (Sherbrooke [et.al.] : Centre d'études de la Renaissance, 1990), 521.

³⁹ Roland Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus 1511–1553* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960), 148–201. In 1552, Martin Borrhaus sent Servetus the manuscript for *Christianismi Restitutio* with the note that it could not be printed in Basel. Lüber, "Basler Zensurpolitik," 134.

⁴⁰ Karl Heinz Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster. Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes* (Basel and Stuttgart: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1963), 94–95.

when papal theologians delayed the release of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible in early 1572 because he had quoted the Talmud and Sebastian Münster within the work and because Andreas Masius had served as one of its editors. While the work was ultimately released for sale within the Catholic world, the episode damaged Arias Montano's reputation. In 1574 Spanish theologian León de Castro sought to ban the Polyglot Bible within Spain itself. The matter was not fully settled until 1577, when the Jesuit Juan de Mariana submitted a report to the Spanish Inquisition that largely exonerated Montano but harshly criticized his work at some points.⁴¹

The condemnations of Hebraists in the 1596 Index gives a still stronger impression that its primary function was to prevent Catholics from reading books by German Protestant authors.

Table 6.2. New Hebraica authors condemned in Roman Index of 1596⁴²

Name	Confession	Country	Number Hebrew Books
Arcangelo da Borgonovo	Catholic	Italy	1
Aretius, Benedict	Reformed	Switzerland	1
Chevalier, Antoine	Reformed	France	14
Chytraeus, David	Lutheran	Germany	8
Clajus, Johannes	Lutheran	Germany	58
Drusius, Johannes	Reformed	Dutch Republic	52
Elhanan Paul	Lutheran	Germany	2
Habermann, Johannes	Lutheran	Germany	10
Hutter, Elias	Lutheran	Germany	42
Junius, Franciscus	Reformed	Germany	5
Masius, Andreas	Catholic	Germany	1
Melissander, Caspar	Lutheran	Germany	1
Mercier, Jean	Reformed	France	36
Mornay, Philippe	Reformed	France	1
Neander, Conrad	Lutheran	Germany	8
Neander, Michael	Lutheran	Germany	12

⁴¹ B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)* (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute/E. J. Brill, 1972), 55–63.

⁴² The condemnation of authors and titles in the Roman Index were cumulative, and so the condemnations of 1564 formed a basis for the 1596 Index. I have provided only new condemnations in this table.

Table 6.2. (Cont.)

Name	Confession	Country	Number Hebrew Books
Osiander, Lucas	Lutheran	Germany	4
Pagninus, Sanctes	Catholic	Italy/France	3
Praetorius, Gottschalk	Lutheran	Germany	1
Reuden, Ambrosius	Lutheran	Germany	6
Scaliger, Joseph	Reformed	Dutch Republic	4
Schade, Elias	Lutheran	Germany	3
Schindler, Valentin	Lutheran	Germany	14
Steucho, Agostino	Catholic	Italy	1
Tremellius, Immanuel	Reformed	Germany	7
Wakefield, Robert	Protestant	England	1
Zorzi, Francesco (Giorgio)	Catholic	Italy	10

Nearly half of those condemned (thirteen of thirty-one) were German Lutheran authors together with eight Reformed, and only five Catholic authors.⁴³ While all of the Protestant authors except Scaliger had all of their works condemned, only individual titles were banned for the Catholic authors. Together the number of Hebraica books banned by this index amounted to 299 imprints, 14.8% of all Hebraica books printed between 1501 and 1660. Yet it was not the number of condemnations of Hebraica that mattered so much as the quality of the works condemned. By forbidding Catholics to read or discuss in print works by Drusius, Mercier, and Tremellius among Protestants and Giorgio, Borgonovo and Masius among Catholics, the Roman Index and the press control authorities that used it in effect forced Italian Catholic Hebraists to stay out of important scholarly discussions.

After 1600, it appears that Hebraists, whether Protestant or Catholic, were less of a concern for the Congregation of the Index. Between 1600 and 1660 only eight new Hebraist authors or titles were condemned and appeared within the Roman Index: William Alabaster, Philippe Aquin's

⁴³ The large number of Lutheran authors condemned reflects the congregation's use of the Munich Index of 1582 as a source of banned books. Franz Heinrich Reusch, *Der Index der Verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. in 2 (Bonn: Max Cohen & Sohn, 1883), 1: 473.

Sententiae et Proverbia Rabbinorum (1620), Thomas Bang's *Caelum orientis et prisci mundi* (1657), Louis de Dieu (all), Nicholas Fuller's *Miscellaneorum theologicarum*, Johann Heinrich Hottinger (all), Anna Maria Van Schurman's *Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina* (1648), and the London Polyglot Bible edited by Brian Walton.⁴⁴ All of these authors except Aquin were Protestants, and while the condemnation of De Dieu, Hottinger, and the London Polyglot Bible were hardly trivial matters, the paltry number of Hebraist books that were banned lends support to Fragnito's assessment of later indexes.

Having lost its battle against the Reformation, Rome seems to have increasingly focused its attention on attacks from domestic dissidents: defenders of State jurisdiction against the encroachments of the Church and the claims of the papacy, Jansenists, quietists, and modernists. Meanwhile virtually every branch of knowledge, independently from its theological implications, came under close scrutiny, and every discipline—from philosophy to history, medicine, sciences, law, biblical studies, literature, etc.—paid its toll to censorship.⁴⁵

Italian Press Controls

Although the indexes of 1559, 1564, and 1596 were issued by Roman pontiffs and were considered by them to be of universal applicability, their impact was felt most strongly in Italy itself. While the Catholic hierarchy sought to purge heretical books from Italian shelves using the Index, it could only fully implement its policy within the Papal States. Other Italian states had to be persuaded to enforce the Index, a task that fell to papal nuncios to the Duchy of Savoy, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Republic of Venice. Fragnito asserts that the Roman Inquisition's campaigns to purge libraries in northern Italy began to have an impact upon the availability of banned books. "It penetrated—in many cases for the first time—remote rural and mountain areas, public and private libraries, convents and monasteries, priests' houses and confraternities, colleges and princely courts."⁴⁶ The inspection of monastic

⁴⁴ *Index Librorum Prohibitorum 1600–1966*, ed. J. M. Bujanda and Marcella Richter, *Index des Livres Interdits* 11 (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 2002), 55, 78, 101, 291, 365, 448, 821, 936.

⁴⁵ Gigliola Fragnito, Review of *Index librorum prohibitorum: 1600–1966*, ed. J. M. De Bujanda, *Catholic Historical Review* 93/2 (2007): 366–367, here 366.

⁴⁶ Fragnito, "Central and Peripheral Organization of Censorship," 24–27.

libraries in the Province of Mantua during the 1590's revealed, for example, a variety of banned Hebraica books. These included books by Catholic authors with kabbalistic titles by Pico, Arcangelo de Borogonovo, and Francesco Giorgio, other works by Agostino Steucho and Sanctes Pagninus, Hebrew grammars by Protestant authors such as Anton Reuchlin and Antoine Chevallier, and even Hebraica books that had no Protestant content but were printed by Robert Estienne, a condemned printer.⁴⁷

Among the princely libraries that were visited by the Inquisition were the Este Library in Modena, those of the Dukes of Parma and Urbino, and even the Medici Library in Florence.⁴⁸ The Vatican library itself was purged of at least some banned books in 1559 and again in 1579.⁴⁹ The Roman Inquisition impounded every Protestant book from the Palatine library that was listed on the Index in 1625, fortunately overlooking the Bomberg Talmud set that came from Heidelberg. Only in 1657 was the Vatican librarian Lucas Holste able to reclaim the books for the collection. The confiscated books included works by Elias Hutter, Matthias Flacius, Immanuel Tremellius, and Paul Fagius.⁵⁰

Episcopal libraries in Italy were not exempt from inspections by the Roman Inquisition either. On 12 March 1596, the Congregation of the Holy Office decreed that it was illegal for bishops to keep books written by heretics in their libraries or to allow others to read them.⁵¹ This ruling could only be applied selectively, however, since some bishops were more powerful than others. Carlo Borromeo's copy of the Basel Talmud remained in

⁴⁷ Flavia Bruni, "Una Inquisition el Convento Servita di Lucca: I Libri nella cella di Fra Lorenzo," in: *Libri, Biblioteche e Cultura Degli Ordini Regolari Nell'Italia Moderna Attraverso la Documentazione della Congregazione dell'Indice*, ed. Rosa Maria Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi, Studi e Testi 434 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), 473–523, here 496, 489, 501–2, 513, 518 (Kabbalistic); 500, 516 (other Catholic); 514, 520 (Protestant works); 505, 515 (Estienne).

⁴⁸ Ibid., 36 and n. 76.

⁴⁹ The materials purged in 1579 involved a "Talmudic library." See Patricia H. Jobe, "Inquisitional Manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana: A Preliminary Handlist," in: *The Inquisition in Early Modern Europe. Studies on Sources and Methods*, ed. Gustav Henningsen and John Tedeschi with Charles Amiel (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1986), 33–53, here 36.

⁵⁰ Christine Maria Grafinger, "Eine Aufstellung des Ersten Kustos Lukas Holstenius über die Rückgabe von Druckwerken aus der Bibliotheca Palatina an die Vatikanische Bibliothek durch das Heilige Offiz," in her *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliotheca Vaticana*, Studi e Testi 373 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), 37–61, here 52–59.

⁵¹ Gigliola Fragnito, "Introduction," in: *Church Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Gigliola Fragnito (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1–12, here 6 and n. 2.

his possession until his death in 1584. Cardinal Francesco Barberini was both a papal secretary of state and even for a time a member of the Congregation of the Inquisition. He apparently ordered his own librarian Lucas Holste to arrange for banned books to be smuggled into Rome.⁵² Cardinal Barberini, among his other interests, was an avid patron of Hebrew and oriental studies, and at the time of his death his library had a notable supply of such books, including many by condemned authors such as Drusius, Fagius, Mercier, and Postel.⁵³ He even owned copies of the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds.⁵⁴ The clients and dependents of Francesco Barberini such as Jean Morin would have had no trouble following developments in Protestant Hebrew scholarship by consulting books in his library.

The city most affected by the Roman Index was Rome itself, a city that could boast the library resources, learned scholars, and powerful, wealthy patrons to support Hebrew and oriental scholarship on a monumental scale. Yet the city's stern reputation for censorship deterred even men of unimpeachable orthodoxy from printing their works there. Since Catholic Hebraist authors in Rome particularly were far more dependent upon ecclesiastical patronage than their Protestant counterparts for support while writing their books and for subventions when publishing them, they were also no doubt keenly aware of the limits of acceptable Hebraist discourse and of the consequences for them both personally and professionally should they breach these boundaries. The Paris Polyglot Bible project was conceived in Rome, and scholars from Rome such as Abraham Ecchelensis played an important role in producing it, but it was printed in Paris, not Rome.⁵⁵ Athanasius Kircher, who could count on his fellow Jesuits to allow him a certain amount of intellectual leeway in what he published in his books, complained to Nicholas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc in 1636 that he was not free to write everything that he wished.

⁵² Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. Barberini Cultural Politics*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 135 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 283–285.

⁵³ *Index Bibliothecae qua Franciscus Barberinus S. R. E. Cardinalis Vicecancellarius Magnificentiores Reddidit*, two vols in one (Rome: Michael Hercules, 1681), 1: 337–338, 394; 2: 60, 107, 241.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 438.

⁵⁵ Peter N. Miller, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century," in: *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus/The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, ed. Herbert Jaumann, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 96 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 59–85, here 62–71. On Ecchelensis, see Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome*, 310–315.

"Since books of this sort are full of superstitious magical seals and other opinions condemned by the church ... surely these things will never be permitted and cannot be permitted; especially here in Rome, where the censorship [*censura*] of all books is so strict that not even the least straw of error or false opinion is tolerated."⁵⁶

The effectiveness of secular Italian authorities, armed with the Index, in suppressing banned books has frequently been questioned, though their efforts were not without effect. In Italy as elsewhere it was often simpler to identify heretical books in a library once the owner had died and could no longer protect his treasures.⁵⁷ Banned books were discovered in Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's library in Padua and in Carlo Borromeo's library in Spanish-ruled Milan in this fashion.⁵⁸ Paul Grendler's study of Venice mentions instances when local authorities confiscated banned Hebraica books by authors such as Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim and Sebastian Münster and punishing those possessing them, whether booksellers or private owners.⁵⁹ After 1600, however, the Venetian authorities were far less concerned about potentially heretical books sold and read within their domains. The published catalogue of the Marciana Library of Venice, dating from 1622, contains listings for books by Paul Ricius, Sebastian Münster, Conrad Gesner, Francesco Giorgio, Agostino Steucho, Cornelius Agrippa, Johannes Drusius, Arcangelo de Borgonovo, and even Guillaume Postel, all of whom were listed in the Roman Index, most of whose books could not be salvaged through expurgation.⁶⁰

The Roman Index was published not only to inform local authorities about which books were heretical and subject to confiscation but also to shape scholarship by preventing the printing of heresy and limiting public discussion of it in books. The relatively small number of Italian

⁵⁶ Daniel Stolzenberg, "Unity, Edification, and Superstition: Jesuit Censorship and Athanasius Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*," in: *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S. J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, S. J. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 336–354, here 348.

⁵⁷ The 1596 Roman Index recommended inspections of libraries "bequeathed by inheritance." Bujanda, "Index," 257–258.

⁵⁸ Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 321–324. Borromeo's library included a number of banned books including a Basel Talmud set and books by Sebastian Münster and Guillaume Postel. *La Biblioteca di S. Carlo Borromeo*, ed. Agostino Saba, Fontes Ambrosiani 12, (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1936), 7, 10, 12, 14, 24, 32, 54, 64.

⁵⁹ Grendler, *Roman Inquisition*, 165, 196.

⁶⁰ *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Venetae quae statutis diebus publice studiosorum commoditati aperietur* ([Venice?] s. n., 1622), 73–75, 77–78, 80, 85–86, 94, 104, 117, 127, 138, 155–156, 168, 196, 199, 201, 204.

Christians who could read Hebrew and the limited availability of Protestant Hebrew books largely restricted such discussions to some monasteries, the courts of bishops such as Francesco Barberini, to the Ambrosian Library of Milan, and to some church institutions within Rome itself. Although Italian booksellers and readers might import foreign Hebraica books, sometimes smuggling them under the noses of the authorities, they could not mention them publicly.

Perhaps the most important effect that the Roman Index had upon Italian Hebrew scholarship was limiting scholarly discussions that could take place in print.⁶¹ Italian Christian Hebraists were not allowed even to mention the names or titles of condemned books in the works that they did write. This should be no surprise, since even Catholic loyalists with sterling reputations found it difficult to publish under the impossibly rigorous standards of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Robert Bellarmine's *Controversies*, which were originally lectures that he gave at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, were briefly threatened with the prospect of a papal ban "until expurgated" in 1590, while the author himself was serving on the Congregation of the Index.⁶²

While it is impossible to demonstrate in our present state of knowledge that the Index discouraged Italian Hebraists from composing books in their field and Italian printers from producing them, it is clear that very little Hebraica was printed after 1560. The dependence of Italian Hebrew authors upon patrons at every step of their writing careers for the support they needed to study and write, for library resources, and for subventions for printers probably discouraged many from attempting to respond in print to Protestant Hebraica books, whatever they could discuss in private. Italian presses produced only sixty-six Hebrew imprints in the century after 1560, 34% of what Paris presses alone produced during the same period. Since over a third of these works (twenty-six of sixty-six) were printings of books by only three authors, Bellarmine's *Institutiones linguae hebraicae* (six), Calasio's Hebrew books (six), or Calepinus's *Dictionarium* (fourteen), the contribution of Italian Hebraist authors is even smaller than the total number of imprints would indicate. The Index

⁶¹ The Roman Index also forbade the reprinting of banned books unless they were classified as correctable by the Index, and the revised text was then approved by the Roman Inquisition. I have not found any instances of "false flag" publishing of Protestant Hebraica in Italy. R. Sayce, "Conspiratorial Practices and the Localization of Printed Books," *The Library* 21/1 (1966): 1–45.

⁶² Godman, *Saint as Censor*, 135–141.

thus appears to have had an effect upon the public discussion of Christian Hebraica and on the ability of Italian authors to participate in any broader discourse about Hebrew by means of books, even with fellow Catholics living elsewhere. They could and did follow such discussions and contribute to it privately through correspondence with fellow Hebraists, especially in France.⁶³ Apart from those authors who wrote books on Syriac and Arabic, tracts intended to convert Jews, and a small number of books related to Kabbalah, Italian Hebraist authors could say little in print to their colleagues elsewhere in Europe.⁶⁴

The Roman Index also affected the Christian discussion of Hebrew and Jewish texts in Italy through its impact upon Jewish printing and book ownership. Catholic authorities had a genuine fear of certain kinds of Jewish literature, placing the Talmud and a few other Jewish books on the Roman Index.⁶⁵ Although the Roman Inquisition also had the authority to condemn Jewish books, it remains unclear just how many Jewish titles were banned and how and when such bans were promulgated.⁶⁶ The ongoing efforts in Italy to maintain surveillance of Jewish libraries, and at times to expurgate the contents of some books and manuscripts in them, represented perhaps the most effective part of their campaign to suppress and/or expurgate “heretical” literature.⁶⁷ While the measures taken by Catholic authorities to oversee the Jewish book trade are beyond the

⁶³ See, for example, the correspondence of Cardinal Barberini’s various clients, including Jean Morin, printed in *Antiquitates Ecclesiae orientalis clarissimorum virorum card Barberini [et al]* (London: Wells, 1682).

⁶⁴ Only forty-three Christian Hebraica books were printed in Italy after 1596, thirty-one of which were grammars, dictionaries, or concordances, four kabbalistic books, five missionary works for use with Jews, two works on the Bible, and a single Hebrew work on medicine.

⁶⁵ Most recently, see Raz-Krakotzkin, *Censor, the Editor, and the Text*, 40–55, and the literature cited on pp. 211–212, notes. 1–5.

⁶⁶ Bishop Jean Plantavit de la Pause informed his readers of three such books that the Roman Inquisition banned in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, in: *Florilegium Rabbinicum: complectens praecipuas veterum rabbinorum sententias, versione latina et scholiis* (Lodève: Colomerius, 1644), nos. 308, 452, and 642 [Göttingen SUB, Sig. 2 RABB 606/55]. More generally, see Antje Bräcker, “The Series ‘Stanza Storica’ of the Sanctum Officium in the Archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith as a Source for the History of the Jews,” in: *The Roman Inquisition and the Jews: Contexts, Sources and Perspectives*, Studies in European Judaism 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 169–176, here 174.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 80–94. See also Shifra Baruchson Arbib, *Books and Readers – The Reading Interests of Italian Jews at the Close of the Renaissance* (Ramat Gan, Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993) [Hebrew]; part two of this work has appeared under the title *La Culture Livresque des Juifs d’Italie à la Fin de la Renaissance*, trans. Gabriel Roth (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2001), and Gila Prebor, “‘Sefer Ha-Ziquq’ of Domenico Yerushalmi (1555–1621),” *Italia* 18 (2008): 7–302 [Hebrew].

scope of this study, they had a noticeable effect on the Jewish book market, limiting those books and manuscripts available for purchase by Christian Hebraists. The suppression of the Talmud in Italy made copies more difficult for both Jewish and Christian buyers to find.⁶⁸ However, the confiscation by the authorities of Jewish books and manuscripts for expurgation may have contributed to a ready supply for Catholic institutions and collectors with the right connections to obtain them. Renate Segre speculated that the Jewish owners of many manuscripts might not have reclaimed them from the Inquisition, given the number of receipts written for their owners that she discovered in the state archives of Turin.⁶⁹ Some owners may not have been allowed to reclaim their books or manuscripts, leaving them to the expurgators either to destroy or to pass on to others. Domenico Gerosolimitano gave at least one Jewish manuscript to Jean Plantavit de la Pause in Rome.⁷⁰ He may have sold or given other manuscripts he had expurgated to Cardinal Federigo Borromeo while serving as one of his book-buying agents from 1605–1608.⁷¹

Spanish Indexes of Prohibited Books

Spain, like Italy, had indices of prohibited books, but they were created by the Spanish Inquisition under the orders of the Spanish crown. Like the Roman Indexes, they had their roots in local indexes, specifically the Louvain Index of 1551. The Spanish Inquisition published the first Spanish Index in 1559, eight months before the first Roman Index. Bujanda noted that this index contained roughly seven hundred condemnations grouped by language (Latin, Castilian, Flemish, German, French and Portuguese), and that it focused on works of piety and devotion. The Index of 1583, issued by Inquisitor General Gaspar de Quiroga, contained more than

⁶⁸ Andreas Masius's copy of the Bomberg Talmud was seized from Bomberg's agent in Venice in 1553 and destroyed before Masius could retrieve it there. David Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (London: Holland Press, 1963), 269–279.

⁶⁹ Renate Segre, "Neophytes during the Italian Counter-Reformation: Identities and Biographies," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1977–1981): 131–142, here, 141.

⁷⁰ Plantavit de la Pause, *Florilegium Rabbinicum*, 636, no. 748.

⁷¹ Aldo Luzzato, *Hebraica Ambrosiana: Catalogue of Undescribed Hebrew Manuscripts in the Ambrosian Library* (Edizioni il Polifilo, 1972), 3–4, and Cesare Pasini, "Le Acquisizioni Librarie del Cardinale Federico Borromeo e il Nascere dell'Ambrosiana," *Studia Borromaeica* 19 (2005): 461–490, here 468–469.

2,315 interdictions.⁷² This index too was arranged by language, and its condemnations were in dictionary order, with the names of banned authors and titles listed alphabetically.⁷³ The 1583 Spanish Index condemned thirty-three Hebraist authors, but only ten who were not previously condemned in the Roman Index of 1564—five Catholics and five Protestants.⁷⁴ Further indexes were published by the Spanish Inquisition in 1612 and 1632.⁷⁵

The 1583 Index also affected Spanish Christian Hebraists in that it contained more references to Jewish books than the Roman Index.⁷⁶ It condemned Muslim and Jewish literature in general, specifically banning the Talmud with its glosses, annotations and interpretations. These general condemnations may have been issued with an eye to Spain's New Christian population, since access even to Christian Hebraist works might promote the secret practice of Judaism.⁷⁷ The index also forbade the use of biblical commentaries of Rashi and David Kimhi, the "Jerusalemite Rabbis," and any Latin translations of Judaica by Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius, since both of them were Protestant heretics.⁷⁸ Jewish biblical commentaries could only be read by certain approved scholars who had written permission from the Spanish Inquisition to do so. One of the charges leveled against Luis de Leon of the University of Salamanca a decade before was that he had read and used such commentaries for his work.⁷⁹ While a truly determined Hebraist might have dared to seek permission from the Spanish Inquisition to read the biblical commentaries

⁷² J. M. Bjuanda, "Index of Prohibited Books," 257, and Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 113.

⁷³ Sometimes authors and their works appear a number of times in the Index under this arrangement. Martin Bucer is listed four times under various permutations of his alias Aretius Felinus and his real name. *Index et Catalogus Librorum prohibitorum, mandato Illustriss. Ac Reverendiss. D. D. Gasparis a Quiroga* (Madrid: Alphonso Gomez, 1583), fols. 10r, 17r, 28v, 48v.

⁷⁴ Catholics: Gilbert G  n  brard, Andreas Masius, Agostino Steucho, Francesco Giorgio [Zorzi], and Fran  ois Vatable; Protestants: David Chytraeus, Johannes Draconites, Gottschalk Praetorius, Nicholas Selnecker, and Immanuel Tremellius.

⁷⁵ Reusch, *Index der Verbotenen B  cher*, 2/1: 42–46, 49–50.

⁷⁶ Idem, *Index der Verbotenen B  cher*, 1: 52.

⁷⁷ Yosef Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto. Isaac Cardoso: A Study in Seventeenth Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 288–298.

⁷⁸ Raz, *Censor, the Editor, and the Text*, 74.

⁷⁹ Stephen G. Burnett, "The Strange Career of the Biblia Rabbinica among Christian Hebraists, 1517–1620," in: *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Matthew McLean and Bruce Gordon (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

of Rashi, Kimhi, or Ibn Ezra, this press control law would have dissuaded those who were only mildly curious.

Like the Roman Index, the Spanish Indexes were intended to prevent Spanish readers from gaining access to heretical books, above all Protestant ones. The thirty condemnations of Hebraists in the 1632 Index are fairly evenly divided between Reformed authors (fourteen) and Lutheran ones (twelve), together with English Protestants Nicholas Fuller and John Selden, and Catholics Marcus Marinus and Martin Martinez de Cantalapiedra.

Table 6.3. New authors condemned in Spanish Indexes: 1612 and 1632⁸⁰

Name	Confession	Country	Year Banned ⁸¹	No. Books	Expurgation Possible
Amama, S	Reformed	Dutch Republic	1632	15	y
Bertram, C	Reformed	Switzerland	1612	12	y
Buxtorf, J Sr	Reformed	Switzerland	1612	50	y
Cappel, L	Reformed	France	1632	7	y
Chevalier, P	Reformed	Switzerland	1632	5	y
Crinesius, C	Lutheran	Germany	1632	5	y
Cunaeus, P	Reformed	Dutch Republic	1632	4	y
Dieu, Louis de	Reformed	Dutch Republic	1632	8	y
Ebert, J	Lutheran	Germany	1612	7	y
Erpenius, T	Reformed	Dutch Republic	1632	7	y

⁸⁰ In addition to the authors in Table 6.3, a further forty-nine authors mentioned in the Roman Index of 1596 were condemned in the Spanish Index of 1612, and two more in the 1632 Spanish Index. The Roman Index added only two more of the authors condemned by the Spanish Index of 1632 by decree after 1600 Louis de Dieu in 1644 and Nicholas Fuller in 1627. Bujanda, *Index*, vol. 11, 291, 365.

⁸¹ Bernardo de Sandoval y Rojas, *Index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum Ill[ustrissi]mi ac R[everendissi]mi Bernardi de Sandoual et Roxas S.R.E. presb. Cardin. tit. S. Anastasiae. Archiepisc. Toletani Hispaniarum Primatis maioris castellae cancellarii. Generalis Inquisitoris regii status consilarii & c auctoritate et iussu editus* (Madris: Luis Sanchez, 1612) and Antonio Zapata, *Nouus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum; editis auctoritate & iussu eminent[issi]mi ac reueren[dissi]mi d. D. Antonii Zapata, S.R.E. Presbyt. Card. tit. S. Balbinae; protectoris Hispaniarum; Inquisitoris Generalis in omnibus regnis, editionibus Philippi IV. R.C. & ab eius statu &c. de Consilio Supremi Senatus S. Generalis Inquisitione* (Seville: Francisci de Lyra, 1632).

Table 6.3. (Cont.)

Name	Confession	Country	Year Banned ⁸¹	No. Books Possible	Expurgation
Fabricius, L	Lutheran	Germany	1632	4	n
Fongers, Jan	Reformed	Dutch Republic	1612	3	y
Fuller, N.	Anglican	England	1632	7	n
Goldhahn,	Lutheran	Germany	1632	9	y
Matthaeus					
Hanewinckel,	Reformed	Germany	1632	3	y
Gerhard					
Helwig,	Lutheran	Germany	1612	12	y
Christoph					
Kircher,	Lutheran	Germany	1612	3	y
Conrad					
Marinus,	Catholic	Italy	1612	4	y
Marcus					
Martinez de	Catholic	Spain	1612	4	y
Cantalapiedra,					
Martin					
Martinius,	Reformed	France	1632	18	y
Petrus					
Meelführer,	Lutheran	Germany	1632	7	y
Johannes					
Megiser,	Lutheran	Germany	1632	16	y
Hieronymus					
Pasor, Georg	Reformed	Germany	1632	16	y
Petri,	Lutheran	Germany	1612	4	n
Friedrich					
Raphelengius,	Reformed	Dutch Republic	1632	9	y
Franciscus					
Reyher,	Lutheran	Germany	1632	6	n
Andreas					
Selden, John	Independent	England	1632	19	y
Trost, Martin	Lutheran	Germany	1632	13	y
Waser, Caspar	Reformed	Switzerland	1612	6	y
Weigenmeir,	Lutheran	Germany	1612	3	y
Georg					

Unlike the Roman Index, however, in most cases some or even all of the books by the condemned authors could be rehabilitated through expurgation, and notes to guide the process were printed within the Index itself. The expurgation entry for Benedict Arias Montano was four pages long, while Johannes Buxtorf's books required only a page and a half of corrections.⁸² Although Spanish scholars were allowed to read such works after they had been appropriately expurgated, Spanish printers did not reprint them. Of the four Hebraica books printed in Spain after the publication of the first major Spanish Index in 1583, all of them were written by Spanish authors; three of them were grammatical works and the fourth a discussion of biblical names.

In common with local authorities in Italy, however, the Spanish Inquisition did not have the means to suppress the entire trade in illegal books. In Spain, as in Italy, copies of the various indexes of banned books were often not printed in sufficient numbers to meet needs, and at the same time they were too expensive for many booksellers to purchase.⁸³ In Spain they were particularly expensive; the 1612 index was over 900 pages long, and the Index of 1632 more than a thousand pages. Although Spain was united politically under one crown, it was divided administratively; the Spanish Index was only slowly imposed upon various regions. It was introduced in Castile in 1558, but only later in Catalonia (1573), Valencia (1580's), and Aragon (1592), allowing easy importation of banned books from both France and the Spanish Netherlands where press controls were less strict. It was also impossible to inspect the cargo of every ship that unloaded in a Spanish port, and it was illegal to do so under treaties with some states such as England.⁸⁴ The combination of denunciation and exemplary prosecution, however, could provide a modicum of deterrence. The condemnation of Benito Arias Montano's works in Spain nine years after his death in 1607 served to underscore the Spanish Inquisition's suspicion of biblical humanism, deterring others from reading those books and from following Arias Montano's scholarly example.⁸⁵ Curiously, the Spanish Index was never imposed in the Spanish Netherlands where civil authorities rather than the Inquisition implemented a different set of policies.

⁸² Zapata, *Novus Index Librorum*, 86–89 (Arias Montano), 540–541 (Buxtorf).

⁸³ Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 117 and Black, *Italian Inquisition*, 168.

⁸⁴ Kamen, *Spanish Inquisition*, 105, 117, 119.

⁸⁵ B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano*, 68.

While the various editions of the Roman and Spanish Index by themselves could not suppress the circulation of Protestant heresy, they can tell us what kinds of books by Christian Hebraists, whether Protestant, radical or dissident Catholic, the authorities in Italy and Spain wished to suppress. First, both of these indexes condemned certain authors as “heresiarchs,” as being completely unsuitable for Catholic reading for any reason at all. Any book bearing names such as Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and the like were beyond the pale. Second, any book “dealing with geomancy, hydromancy, aeromancy, pyromancy, oneiromancy, chiromancy, necromancy, or with sortilege, mixing of poisons, augury, auspices, sorcery, magic arts” was absolutely forbidden.⁸⁶ This meant that the works of Cornelius Agrippa and the kabbalistic works of Johannes Reuchlin were condemned in the Roman Index of 1564, never to be rehabilitated. The works of Kabbalist Francesco Giorgio [Zorzi] were similarly condemned but might be read by the faithful if they had undergone extensive expurgation.⁸⁷ Both indexes also condemned some of the best-selling Hebraica authors of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, applying as it were an intellectual tourniquet with the intention of cutting off Catholic readers from pernicious ideas. The Roman Index, for example, condemned the complete works of some of the most frequently printed Protestant Hebraists including Sebastian Münster (eighty-three books), Johannes Drusius (fifty-two), Elias Hutter (forty-two), Jean Mercier (thirty-six),⁸⁸ Antoine Chevalier (fourteen) and Paul Fagius (thirteen). While scholars in both Italy and Spain had some access to Protestant Hebraica, their inability to publish responses to them meant that they were effectively eliminated from the scholarly conversation concerning Hebrew and Jewish texts that was taking place across confessions in northern Europe.

Press Controls in Catholic Northern Europe

The Roman Index played a much less important role in guiding the decision of press control authorities in Catholic countries north of the Alps

⁸⁶ Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees*, 273–274, 276.

⁸⁷ Cesare Vasoli, “Nuovi documenti sulla Condanna All’Indice e la Censura delle Opere di Francesco Giorgio Veneto,” in: *Censura Ecclesiastica e Cultura Politica in Italia Tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. Cristina Stango (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editori, 2001), 55–78 discusses the extensive expurgation of Zorzi’s books.

⁸⁸ Mercier had Calvinist leanings, but did not openly declare himself a Protestant. See Mireille Olmière and Pierre Pelissero, “Jean Mercier et sa Famille,” in: *Jean (C. 1525–1570)*

than it did in Italy. The authorities in the Spanish Netherlands and in Bavaria used it as a guide only, while in France it was not used at all in oversight of the book trade. In the early years of the Reformation Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain, was ruler of Burgundy as well. His heresy edict of 29 April 1550 formed the basis of all subsequent press control laws in the Spanish-ruled Netherlands. The law dealt broadly with all aspects of public communication, including preaching, disputation, school teaching and the printing, selling, and distribution of books.⁸⁹ His son King Philip II of Spain elaborated upon the basic law by requiring that all printers and booksellers in the Spanish Netherlands join the Guild of Saint Luke, with the intention that they would contribute to press regulation by keeping an eye on each other. He also implemented the Tridentine practice of diocesan censorship and the Roman Index, publishing it in 1570.⁹⁰ While preparing the Tridentine Index for its first publication in the Spanish Netherlands, Christopher Plantin discovered that some of his own books were condemned by it. He had to order that these books be taken out his warehouse and be destroyed.⁹¹ Yet the oversight of printing in the Spanish Netherlands remained a responsibility of the secular government, carried out through a system of licensing by the Privy Council, and to a lesser extent by the Council of Brabant, rather than by church authorities as it was Spain.⁹²

Both the Privy Council of the Spanish Netherlands, based in Brussels, and the Council of Brabant were authorized to issue permissions for printing. They, in turn, delegated actual censorship duties to priests and university professors.⁹³ While later Roman Indexes were published in the Spanish Netherlands, they did not have the same force of law as the 1570 Index had had.⁹⁴ They served to guide clergy in censoring books, who acted under the authority of both the secular authorities and their own

et Josias (C. 1560–1626) Mercier. *L'amour de la philologie à la Renaissance et au début de l'âge classique*, ed. François Roudaut (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006), 17–22, here 20–21.

⁸⁹ Paul Arblaster, "Policy and publishing in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1585–1690," in: *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 179–198, here 180.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 180–181.

⁹¹ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in Two Volumes* (Amsterdam/London/New York: Vangendt, Routledge & Kegan Paul, and Abner Schram, 1972), vol. 2: *The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque*, 277.

⁹² Arblaster, "Habsburg Netherlands," 180–181.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 181–182. See also Leon Voet, *Golden Compasses*, 2: 262–263.

⁹⁴ Jerome Machiels, *Privilege, Censure et Index dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux Jusqu'au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Bruxelles: Archives Générales du Royaume, 1997), 145–148.

bishops. This subordination of ecclesiastical censors to secular authorities could at times have startling results, most famously during the controversy over the books of Bishop Cornelius Jansen. Both the Privy Council and a number of bishops in the Spanish Netherlands defied the pope and the Roman Inquisition by refusing to publish their condemnations between 1642 and 1653 to suppress Jansen's books.⁹⁵

In practical terms it appears that press control laws in the Spanish Netherlands hardly affected the trade in Christian Hebraica by the seventeenth century. The book sales records of the Plantin-Moretus firm of Antwerp attest to a steady trade in Protestant Hebraica books, including works condemned by the Roman Index. In 1625 Balthasar Bellère, a bookseller and printer in Douai, whose university was an important center in the struggle against Protestantism, placed an order for twenty-eight Hebraica books with Moretus. In addition to titles by Catholic Hebraists such as Robert Bellarmine, Gilbert Générard, Augustus Justinianus, Georg Mayr, and Sanctes Pagninus, Bellère also ordered titles by Lutheran Hebraica authors, including Christoph Crinesius, Mathias Haffenreffer, Elias Hutter, Michael Neander, and Martin Trost, and by Reformed authors such as Johannes Buxtorf the younger, Louis Cappel, Johannes Drusius, Thomas Erpenius, Franciscus Junius, and Immanuel Tremellius.⁹⁶ Drusius, Hutter, Junius, Neander, and Tremellius all were condemned by the Roman Index of 1596. A later stock catalogue for Moretus's warehouse dating from 1644 contains a similarly mixed inventory of ninety Protestant and Catholic Hebraica books, both acceptable and condemned by the Roman Index.⁹⁷ Moretus maintained a "special order" service for customers in the Spanish Netherlands, and a network of agents there and in France through which he distributed these books to interested customers.⁹⁸ Since neither the Roman nor Spanish Indexes were directly enforced

⁹⁵ The controversy was far from over, however, and would continue into the 1690's. Reusch, *Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, 2/1: 457–484.

⁹⁶ Antwerp Plantin Archief Arch 726, f. 34r-v. I have assigned the year 1625 to the order since it was the year that Bonfrère's Pentateuch commentary was printed, the latest book listed in the order.

⁹⁷ Antwerp Plantin Archief Arch 747. In addition to books by Drusius, Hutter, and Neander, this inventory contains works by Aretius (f. 247v), Draconites (f. 56v), David Chytraeus (f. 24r), Johannes Habermann (f. 238v), Lucas Osiander (f. 238v), Elias Schadaeus (f. 247v), and Valentin Schindler (f. 257v), all condemned by the Roman Index of 1596.

⁹⁸ On the special order service, see Alastair Hamilton, "An Egyptian Traveler in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the Copt," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994): 123–150, here 134. On Moretus' system of agents in France and the Spanish Netherlands, see Henri Jean Martin, *Print, Power, and People in 17th Century France*, trans. David Gerard (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1993), 201–202.

in the Spanish Netherlands, it appears that the book trade in Hebraica there was little affected by press controls.

Whether press control laws in the Spanish Netherlands prevented Hebraica books from being printed remains an open question. Christopher Plantin's firm produced the lion's share of the Hebraica printed there before his death in 1589 (fifty-three of sixty-five imprints), and some of his works were condemned by church authorities. Andreas Masius' *Joshua imperatoris historia* (1574) was condemned by the Roman Index of 1596, while the great Polyglot Bible was nearly condemned by both the Catholic hierarchy in Rome and by the Spanish Inquisition. Plantin's firm also printed two of Johannes Drusius' early works, both of which would later be condemned in the Roman Index of 1596.⁹⁹ Most of the Hebraica books that he printed, however, were Hebrew Bibles or individual books of the Bible without commentary (twenty-three) or linguistic tools such as Hebrew or Syriac grammars and dictionaries (seventeen), all of which were perfectly unobjectionable. After Plantin's death only fifteen Hebrew books were printed in the Spanish Netherlands. These included seven printings of the Bible or commentaries, six Hebrew grammars, and two polemical works written by Catholic loyalists.¹⁰⁰ Although Catholic scholars in the Spanish Netherlands were fairly free to read and purchase Protestant Hebraica books, they did not seek to respond to them in print.

The Roman Index had its greatest impact north of the Alps in Bavaria because of the strong support of a succession of rulers there. Duke Albrecht V appointed a censorship commission, led by Jesuits Theodore Peltanus and Peter Canisius, in 1561. He ordered the Jesuits to purge his court library of banned books in the same year. In 1569 he published the Roman Index of 1564, and he ordered Bavarian monasteries to remove all banned books from their libraries. He decreed in 1565 that only theological books printed in Catholic ruled territories could be purchased legally in Bavaria. In 1582, the Munich Index was published, reproducing the authors and titles banned in the earlier Index and adding 300 more to their number. According to Reusch, the names were drawn from the

⁹⁹ Johannes Drusius, *In Psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum quae exstant fragmenta* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581) and *Ad voces ebraicas Novi Testamenti commentarius duplex* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1582).

¹⁰⁰ Jean d'Espieres, *Auctoritas Scripturae Sacrae hebraice, graece et latine, hoc est textus hebraici, versionis septuaginta interpretum et versionis vulgatae* (Douai: Bellère, 1651) and Johann Caramuel Lobkowitz, *Cabalae totius brevissimum Specimen* (Brussels: Mommart, 1643).

Frankfurt Book Fair catalogues, specifically the sections on Protestant theology.¹⁰¹ This list of new Protestant authors would later become a source for the new Roman Index of 1596. In addition to publicizing the authors and titles of banned books, Duke Albrecht V also authorized territory-wide visitations in 1569 and 1576 to ensure that book trade regulations were enforced.¹⁰² Towns and markets were made responsible for the supervision of printers, booksellers, and private collections in 1569.¹⁰³ In 1598, customs officials were given the responsibility of inspecting imported books, especially from Nuremberg, to prevent banned books from entering the territory.¹⁰⁴

Bavaria's system of press oversight was the most pervasive in Catholic Germany, but by itself it could not prevent Catholic scholars from gaining access to Protestant Hebrew and general scholarship. The library catalogue of the University of Ingolstadt, written about 1590, contained not only an enormous collection of Luther imprints, but also Reuchlin's *De arte Cabalistica* and *De Verbo Mirifico*, a book by Paulus Ricius, and another by Lutheran Johannes Clajus, all of which were expressly banned by the Munich Index of 1582.¹⁰⁵ Jesuit Hebraists could also have had access to banned books in the Munich court library, since they were allowed to use its collection in their work.¹⁰⁶ Despite being purged in 1561 at the order of Duke Albrecht V, it too contained a number of banned books. The Hebraica inventory of 1575 included books written by Petrus Artopoeus, Theodor Bibliander, John Calvin, Wolfgang Capito, Antoine Chevallier, Paul Fagius, Johannes Forster, Jean Mercier, Sebastian Münster (twenty-one titles!), Michael Neander, Anton Reuchlin, Johannes Reuchlin, and Franz Stancarus.¹⁰⁷ It also contained a Bomberg Talmud set that had once belonged to Johann Albrecht Widmanstetter.

¹⁰¹ Reusch, *Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, 1: 467–468, 473. The list included Munich, Ingolstadt, Mainz, Cologne, Freiburg in Breisgau, Innsbruck, Paris, Lyon, Venice, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Antwerp, Louvain or in Spain.

¹⁰² Peter Bietenholz, "Introduction Historique et Étude du Contenu [Index de Munich]," in: *Index de Rome 1590, 1593, 1596. Avec étude des index de Parme 1580 et Munich 1582*, ed., J. M. Bujanda, et al., *Index des Livres Interdits*, vol. 9 (Sherbrooke: Centre d'Études de la Renaissance, 1994), 189–209, here 198–199, 470–471.

¹⁰³ Neumann, *Staatliche Bücherzensur und -aufsicht in*, 34.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 32–33.

¹⁰⁵ Reusch, *Index der Verbotenen Bücher*, 1: 467.

¹⁰⁶ Paul Nelles, "The Uses of Orthodoxy and Jacobean Erudition: Thomas James and the Bodleian Library," *History of Universities* 22/1 (2007): 21–70, here 36.

¹⁰⁷ Munich: Bavarian State Library Ms Cbm 37, was an inventory of the Hebrew books that were part of the ducal library, written in 1575.

Jesuit libraries elsewhere in southern Germany also held banned books, despite St. Ignatius Loyala's iron rule that they should be purged.¹⁰⁸ In 1620, the University library of Freiburg in Breisgau, for example, donated seven of Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica* works, together with two by Wolfgang Capito and one by Paul Fagius to the Jesuit library there, although these books had been expressly banned in the Roman Index of 1564.¹⁰⁹ Sebastian Tegnagel's notes on the Vienna Jesuit library's holdings, written in 1623, similarly note that the library owned at least three banned books, one each by Sebastian Münster and Agostino Steucho and a Bomberg Talmud.¹¹⁰ While prohibitions against the sale of heretical Protestant books may have hindered their acquisition and study outside of the halls of learning in Catholic German states such as Bavaria, at least some Protestant *Hebraica* books were accessible to Jesuit scholars, who in any case represented nearly all of the professors of Hebrew in Catholic Germany after 1570.¹¹¹

The extent to which press control laws constrained German Catholic authors is unclear. Between 1561–1660 they only printed twenty-five *Hebraica* books, including five Bibles and commentaries, three printings of Sixtus of Sienna's *Bibliotheca sancta* (1576, 1586, 1626), thirteen Hebrew grammars, three liturgical works by Georg Mayr, Nicholas Serarius' *Trihaeresium* (Mainz, 1604), a polemical work attacking Scaliger, and Paul Weidner's translation of *Pirke Abot* (1563). Curiously, three of these books were "false flag" prints, Protestant books reprinted to make it look as if they were Catholic works. Elias Hutter's *Biblia Ebraea* was reissued in Cologne (1603), and Antoine Chevalier's *Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae* (1585, 1605) was twice reprinted in Freiburg/Breisgau under the name Johannes Brunner, that university's Professor of Hebrew.¹¹² Fourteen of

¹⁰⁸ Peter Bietenholz, "“Petra Scandali”: The Index of Rome and the Dilemmas of Catholic Reformers in Southern Germany," in: *Le Contrôle des Idées à la Renaissance*, ed. J. M. de Bujanda (Genève: Droz, 1996): 141–152, here 145.

¹⁰⁹ "Catalogus librorum quos ex Bibliotheca Academica Collegii Novi Universitatis Friburgensis Collegium Societatis Jesu Friburgense accepit Anno 1620, mense Sept," Freiburg/Br UB copy of original in Stadtarchiv Freiburg/Br, Kirchensachen Nr 69, Jesuiten 1, 1577–1773.

¹¹⁰ Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 9690, fols. 219v–221r.

¹¹¹ Of the forty-six German Catholic Hebrew professors who taught after 1580, forty-three were members of the Jesuit order. Of the three non-Jesuits, Johannes Brunner and Laurentius Schreckenfuchs taught at the University of Freiburg before it became a Jesuit-controlled institution in 1620, and Johann Wilhelm briefly taught at the University of Vienna (1589).

¹¹² Hutter: VD17 32:629958H; Brunner: *Rudimenta Hebraicae Linguae* (Freiburg/Br: Froben, 1585), and VD17 12:128540D.

these books were printed in Cologne, and the remainder in Augsburg (three), Dillingen (two), Freiburg/Br (two), Mainz (one), Prague (two), and Vienna (one). This meager total represents only 3.9% of all German Hebrew imprints that appeared after 1560. While there is no proof positive that press control laws prevented German Catholic Hebraists from expressing themselves in print, in point of fact few of them did so.

The book oversight policies of both the Spanish Netherlands and Bavaria leave the impression of official concern for the spread of heretical books but only limited success in stopping their circulation. In both the Spanish Netherlands and Bavaria, printers and booksellers were enlisted into the process of press regulation, yet these systems posed no effective deterrent to the sale of such books. Where official measures often failed to prevent the distribution of heretical books, however, denunciations of those who bought and sold them could often set the creaky machinery of state into motion.¹¹³ In Bavaria and to a lesser degree the Spanish Netherlands, where lists of banned books were published, public knowledge of such authors' names might provoke action at the point of sale or during inspections of an individual's library, often after his death when the estate was being settled. While it is perfectly true that the booksellers and purchasers often were able to escape all detection from the regulators, this was not inevitably the case. Of all the states considered thus far, only Bavaria made the effort to put into place a full-fledged system of press controls, utilizing the Roman Index as a part of the process. Whether states strictly regulated their book markets or not, however, it appears that sales of Christian Hebraica were little affected.

France was the only major Catholic state in western Europe where the Index played little or no role in the regulation of printing, since neither it nor the decrees of the Council of Trent were implemented there. It was also the only major Catholic state that had a large, legally tolerated Protestant minority (after 1598), which further complicated any form of press regulation. In France the theology faculty of the University of Paris (the Sorbonne) had had the power to license and condemn religious books since 1521, while the regional parlements also had a degree of regulatory power, especially the powerful Parlement of Paris.¹¹⁴ On paper a royal edict of 1563 created a transparent system of press oversight with the

¹¹³ Soman, "Press, Pulpit and Censorship," 455.

¹¹⁴ David T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime 1500–1791* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 56–64.

King in charge acting through the Privy Council. However, neither the Sorbonne nor the Paris Parlement were willing to stand aside in favor of royal authority, and they continued to issue their own permissions to print and sell books. Only in 1653 did Chancellor Séguier clarify who was responsible for censoring religious books. He deprived the Sorbonne of that power, granting it instead to a board of censors made up of three or four members of the theology faculty who reported to him alone.¹¹⁵

Presented with a choice of authorities to appeal to for permissions, and since they had the ability to choose a censor to read their manuscripts, savvy authors were able to print most of what they wished in France.¹¹⁶ French Protestants could print and sell their own books in Protestant towns such as Lescar, Die, Orthez, Saumur, and in La Rochelle until its capture by royal troops in 1628. Booksellers had little trouble selling these books in Catholic areas as well.¹¹⁷ Together with books smuggled from Geneva these locally produced works ensured that “heretical” Protestant books were readily available for sale in France for much of the Reformation era.¹¹⁸ Consequently, press controls in France did not much affect Hebrew scholarship there.¹¹⁹

Press Controls in Protestant Northern Europe

Protestant states, whether espousing the Anglican, Reformed or Lutheran confession, were in theory just as keen to suppress books that promoted heresy or sedition as Catholic-ruled countries, but in practice they were less likely to put Hebrew books in this category and in general less zealous in imposing press controls. Nor did they share a commonly accepted list of banned authors and titles as large parts of Catholic Europe did. Protestant civil authorities seldom condemned a Hebraica book for its contents, unless the work advocated heretical theological positions, such as Michael Servetus’ *De Trinitatis erroribus* (1531), in which he denied the doctrine of the Trinity.¹²⁰ A Hebraist author’s books might also be banned

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 64, and Soman, “Press, Pulpit and Censorship,” 457.

¹¹⁶ Pottinger, *French Book Trade*, 73, and Soman, “Press, Pulpit and Censorship,” 454–455.

¹¹⁷ Martin, *Print, Power, and People*, 210.

¹¹⁸ Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, 299–318.

¹¹⁹ However, prominent French authors such as Jacques de Thou could not completely ignore the Index. See Alfred Soman, ed., *De Thou and the Index. Letters from Christoph Dupuy (1603–1607)* (Geneve: Droz, 1972).

¹²⁰ Bainton, *Hunted Heretic*, 57–74.

because the author had advocated heretical ideas in his other books. Yet Protestants who dissented from the official confession of their countries did not inevitably have their books banned. The university authorities in Wittenberg fired Valentin Schindler in 1592 for his refusal to conform to Lutheran confessional norms, but his books continued to be printed and read there twenty years after his departure. Most Christian Hebrew books, whether written by Protestant or Catholic authors, could be legally printed, sold, read and cited by Protestant Hebraists.

The English press laws of the Reformation era together comprised, at least on paper, the most pervasive system of press controls of any Protestant country. By the time that Queen Elizabeth began her reign the English monarchy had established the rudiments of a system of press control laws. Her predecessors King Henry VIII and Queen Mary relied on proclamations and the royal requirement for the licensing of books to prevent the printing and circulation of heretical books. In 1529, King Henry VIII issued a proclamation forbidding any writing "contrary to the Catholic faith" and threatened to punish any Englishman writing, printing, importing, or owning such a book. A list of fifteen such books was appended to the end of the edict. A royal proclamation of 1546 required that the printer of any English book, ballad, or play "put his name to the same with the name of the author and the day of the print and shall present the first copy to the mayor of the town where he dwelleth." The king ordered this as a way to purge the commonwealth of Protestant propaganda. Queen Mary chartered the Stationer's Company in 1557 in part to create an institution to carry out the crown's policy of licensing the publication of books. Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary herself "required that printers obtain a license from the Crown to print any book, but that license was contingent upon the approval of certain specified officials." Apart from assuming the legal responsibility to ensure that English printed books were licensed, Mary also sought to use the Stationer's Company as a means of combating heresy. They were to suppress "detestable heresies against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of Holy Mother Church."

Queen Elizabeth created or adapted three bodies for use in controlling the English book trade, while continuing to issue royal proclamations banning particular books. Potentially the most important of these three bodies was the Stationers Company, the guild of printers in England. The most important responsibilities of this body involved traditional guild activities such as maintaining the right of property ownership, self-regulation, employing apprentices, and using searches to protect

themselves from unlawful printing by non-members and poor workmanship. Implicit in their charter, however, was the lawful exercise of their privilege in a way that was not contrary to the laws and statutes of England, and therefore its Anglican religious settlement.¹²¹ The Stationers Company continued the licensing of individual books to be printed in England, and therefore at least at times conducted a form of prepublication censorship.¹²² The Courts of the High Commission, sitting in York and London, were responsible for overseeing the product of English presses together with their more pressing concern, the oversight of the Anglican clergy.¹²³ The Privy Council, acting through the Star Chamber Court, issued several important edicts on the oversight of the English book trade, and at times was the venue for trials of English authors accused of sedition.¹²⁴ Following the example of Henry VIII, his Tudor and Stuart successors also at times issued edicts banning a number of books by name. In theory these bodies together should have sealed England completely both from within and from without against heretical or seditious expression. The practice of censorship and its actual effects upon most English authors were rather different.

The restrictive laws concerning heretical books were rarely enforced with any effectiveness. The licensing laws were frequently ignored. Between 1605 and 1625 only 41% of all books printed in England were licensed, according to Clegg. While the level of compliance rose over the course of King James I's reign, it became an effective instrument of press control only in 1623–24 when 98% and 94% of all English printed books were registered there.¹²⁵ Compliance with the licensing laws actually fell back to under 30% by 1630, rising again only after 1636 to perhaps 50% in 1637 and 70% in 1638.¹²⁶ Prosecutions of English booksellers for books produced within England itself were also rare, especially after the death of Henry VIII.¹²⁷ McKenzie noted elsewhere that between 1641 and 1700 there

¹²¹ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 9, 14–15, 21–22.

¹²² Idem, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 57–58.

¹²³ Ibid., 52–53.

¹²⁴ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, 120–121.

¹²⁵ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, 58–60.

¹²⁶ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, 37.

¹²⁷ David Loades, "The Theory and Practice of Censorship in Sixteenth Century England," in idem, *Politics, censorship and the English Reformation*, 96–108, here 101–106. On press controls in the time of Henry VIII, see John D. Fudge, *Commerce and Print in the Early Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), chaps. 2–3.

were 800 complaints about potentially illicit books prosecuted in the English courts, and that 400 of the books were found “entirely innocent.” Since the 400 found in some degree suspect amounted to .4% of the entire volume of books produced during these years in England, he concluded that “fear of the courts had virtually no impact on the economy of the book trade.”¹²⁸ There were of course several rather messy trials of individual authors during King Charles I’s reign, but none of them involved Hebraists.¹²⁹ Far from serving as a smoothly functioning system of press oversight, Clegg argues convincingly that English press controls comprised a “crazy quilt of proclamations, patents, trade regulations, judicial decrees, privy council and parliamentary acts patched together” by a variety of interests, governmental and private.¹³⁰

The most important English Hebraist to be caught in the web of these press laws was John Selden. Selden wrote a book on the history of tithes that was controversial because it challenged, if only very indirectly, an important means of funding for the Anglican Church. Selden had in fact submitted the book for a license, duly received one, and had satisfied the requirements of the law. Once the book appeared, however, it so displeased King James I that Selden was summoned several times to discuss the book with that scholarly monarch and to receive his reproof. Selden was also forced to appear before the Court of the High Commission on 28 January 1619, to apologize formally for his conclusions, without actually admitting, as he later wrote, that he had printed anything erroneous or untrue.¹³¹ Selden’s troubles at the hands of the press control authorities happened not because he bent or broke the rules, but because his most prominent reader was displeased with what he wrote.

Since Hebrew printing in England really began in earnest only in 1615, almost any potentially offensive Hebrew book that circulated in England before then, and most after that year, would have been imported. As an island, England’s first defense against heresy and sedition printed abroad was inspection of imported books at the port of entry, above all London. However, the actual inspectors were frequently members of the Stationers Company, whose livelihoods involved the sale of

¹²⁸ D. F. McKenzie, “Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades,” in: *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 4:553–567, here 566–567.

¹²⁹ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, 164–193.

¹³⁰ Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England*, 5.

¹³¹ G. J. Toomer, *John Selden: A Life in Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 306–307.

foreign books.¹³² McKenzie quipped, "Time and again commerce compromised censorship. While members of the Company *may* have worked to discover scandalous printing, they also worked to conceal it."¹³³ The evidence of English booksellers' catalogues from the late 1620's through 1660 make clear that Lutheran, Reformed, Catholic, and Jewish Hebraica was readily available in England.

Among states espousing the Reformed confession, the most important printing centers included the Dutch Republic and the two city republics of Geneva and Basel. All of these places produced vast numbers of Christian Hebrew books, and their press control laws are therefore of great importance for understanding the limits of printed expression where Hebraica is concerned.

The Dutch Republic used the press control regulations of Burgundy as a model for its own regulations, but the estates of individual provinces were ultimately responsible for press controls. Since roughly 80% of all Dutch presses were located within the province of Holland, regulations passed by the Estates of Holland were enforced there and often were adopted by other provinces or the States General. On 20 December 1581, the Estates of Holland passed an edict that stated that no book should be printed there without prior permission of the Estates or their standing committee in any language. In 1589 the Estates of Holland added enforcement provisions to the general edict, stating that the printer should submit a copy of the printed book to the estates, and that each book should have a title page identifying the place and date of the publication, the names of the printer and author, as well as the translator, where needed. On the following page the book's official privilege should be printed.¹³⁴ In 1650 the Estates of Holland changed the manner of enforcement, abolishing the requirement for printers to submit their books to the Estates or its agents for inspection. Henceforth booksellers and bookbinders were made responsible for inspecting books.

If the Dutch laws and means of enforcement for press controls were similar to the Spanish Netherlands, the way that the Estates of Holland

¹³² On the Stationer's Company's broader role in press control in England, see Sheila Lambert, "State control of the press in theory and in practice: the role of the Stationer's Company before 1640," in: *Censorship and the Control of the Press in England and France 1600–1910*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), 1–32.

¹³³ Quoted by Julian Roberts, "The Latin Trade," in: *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 4: 1557–1696, ed. John Barnard and D. F. M. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 141–173, here 151.

¹³⁴ S. Groenveld, "The Mecca of Authors," 63–86, here 67.

and other authorities applied them was rather different. The two most sweeping condemnations passed by Dutch authorities involved Catholic religious books, prints, and engravings, affirmed by the Synod of Dort in 1618, and the sale of Socinian books, passed by the Estates of Holland in 1653.¹³⁵ According to Groenveld, however, there were few actual prosecutions of malefactors. At the level of the States General there were relatively few enforcement suits between 1580 and 1659, and these focused on political books (seventy-six books) rather than religious ones (fifty-seven books). During these years, only twelve academic books were prosecuted, none of which were Hebraica books.¹³⁶

The two major centers of Hebrew printing and scholarship within the Swiss Confederation also flourished under a relatively mild regimen of press controls. The city republic of Geneva was allied with Protestant members of the Confederation but since 1569 had been a Protestant enclave surrounded by the Catholic Duchy of Savoy. Geneva, the most important center of French Protestant printing and a byword for Reformed orthodoxy, practiced a “negotiated” form of censorship.¹³⁷ The Company of Pastors and the City Council both played a role in overseeing printing firms there, the council having the final say on which books might be printed.¹³⁸ Once these bodies approved a text for printing, however, the City Council took precautions to ensure that no changes were made while it was printed. Not only was the entire printer’s copy of the text censored before their approval, but also the final printed copy was compared word for word with the original to ensure that no unauthorized revisions had been made.¹³⁹ Jostock conveniently lists all of the cases of questionable books that were discussed by the Geneva city council between 1539 and 1625, and no Hebraica books appear there. The only major Hebraica case involved Jewish printing rather than Christian Hebraica. On 15 February 1572, Jewish printers from Venice petitioned the Council for permission to print the Talmud in Geneva. While some of the pastors were willing to consider the proposal, the majority voted it down.¹⁴⁰ The authorities did not object to Genevan printers publishing Catholic Hebraica under a

¹³⁵ *Censorship: A World Encyclopedia*, s. v. “The Netherlands (by Derek Jones).

¹³⁶ Groenveld, “Mecca of Authors,” 75.

¹³⁷ Ingeborg Jostock, *La Censure Négociée: La Contrôle du Livre à Genève 1560–1625* (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 21–23.

¹³⁸ Hans Joachim Bremme, *Buchdrucker und Buchhändler zur Zeit der Glaubenskämpfe. Studien zur Genfer Druckgeschichte 1565–1580* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 76–80.

¹³⁹ Lüder, “Basler Zensurpolitik,” 94.

¹⁴⁰ Jostock, *Censure Négociée*, 135–138, 333–362.

“false flag.” Pierre de Rouviere produced four different printings of Bellarmine’s *Insitutiones Linguae Hebraicae* in 1616, 1617, 1618, and 1619, using the place name Coloniae Allobrogium instead of Geneva to supply the Catholic Hebraica market.¹⁴¹

The city republic of Basel had been a member of the Swiss Confederation since 1501, but its printing business was export oriented, and printers sought to export their works for sale not only in Germany at the book fairs of Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig, but to Lyon for markets in France and Italy. Hence the Basel magistrate had to enforce censorship standards that were not only in accord with their own political and religious needs, but broadly speaking were also acceptable to their largely German customers as well. After a particularly embarrassing and expensive international incident involving a book that defamed the reputation of the Elector of Saxony in 1557, the Council decided to impose a much stricter regimen of controls on the city’s printers.¹⁴²

According to the new Basel censorship ordinance of 23 February 1558, the deans of the four university faculties were responsible for appointing censors from among their professors to examine works in their respective fields.¹⁴³ The censor would read the manuscript (or revised edition of a previous book) and submit a report to the city government approving or rejecting the work.¹⁴⁴ Presumably the censor was then obliged to report on the book, either orally or in writing, to the council or a representative from it. Lüber reports that in more than 70% of the censorship cases that he examined between 1550 and 1600, the ruling city council (*Kleine Rat*)

¹⁴¹ On the frequent use of misleading place names in Geneva imprints, see Ingeborg Jostock, “Segeln unter falsche Flagge: Genfer Druckortangaben im konfessionellen Zeitalter, ca. 1550–1625,” *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 77 (2002): 176–187, and Martin, *Print, Power and People*, 212.

¹⁴² Basel and the other Protestant Cantons also had to consider the sensibilities of the seven Catholic cantons of the Swiss Confederation when approving books for publication. Lüber, “Basler Zensurpolitik,” 90–91, 108–114.

¹⁴³ Carl Roth, “Die Bücherzensur im alten Basel,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 31/2 (1914): 49–67, here 52. Roth printed the entire ordinance on pp. 62–64. The ordinance was renewed on August 20, 1610. Unfortunately the reports of censors on individual books have not been preserved in the city censorship records. For an example of the standards and practices of a contemporary German Hebrew censor, see Stephen G. Burnett, “Hebrew Censorship in Hanau: A Mirror of Jewish-Christian Coexistence in Seventeenth Century Germany,” in: Raymond B. Waddington and Arthur H. Williamson, eds., *The Expulsion of the Jews: 1492 and After*, Garland Studies in the Renaissance 2 (New York: Garland, 1994), 199–222, here 206–210.

¹⁴⁴ The city council relied upon stiff fines to ensure that the printers themselves did not print anything other than what the censor had approved. Roth, “Bücherzensur,” 52.

was involved.¹⁴⁵ The Basel city council reserved for itself the right to approve or disapprove each and every Hebrew title, since it refused to allow at least two Hebrew books to be printed. It was also quite insistent that no “blasphemies” or slurs against Christians or Christianity appear in any book printed in Basel.¹⁴⁶ Johannes Buxtorf was the best-known Hebrew censor to have served there from his appointment as a professor of Hebrew until 1591 until his death in 1629.¹⁴⁷

Despite these rather fierce sounding strictures, Basel continued to have the reputation of a city where it was fairly simple to print controversial books. This reputation was no doubt bolstered by the attempts of the Basel ruling council, with the strong support of its leading minister [Antistes] Simon Sulzer, to maintain a less dogmatic preconfessional form of Protestantism from the early 1550's until Sulzer's death in 1585.¹⁴⁸ Hebraists who had difficulty finding printers elsewhere in Europe sought out Basel printers in the hope of seeing their books in print. Michael Servetus, for example, submitted a manuscript for his *Christianismi Restitutio* for publication in 1550/51. Theology professor Martin Borrhaus returned it with the notation that it could not be printed in Basel.¹⁴⁹ Finally, the Basel magistrate did allow Ambrosius Froben to print the Basel Talmud in 1579–80, which resulted in a series of international incidents involving the Catholic cantons and direct correspondence with Emperor Rudolf II. Several members of the Basel theology faculty were obliged to write an opinion that would justify the Basel Council in allowing the printing of this potentially blasphemous work.¹⁵⁰

German Lutheran governments, both city magistrates and territorial princes, were more inclined to supervise the book trade in their lands

¹⁴⁵ Lüber, “Basler Zensurpolitik,” 96.

¹⁴⁶ Basel Staatsarchiv Protokolle, Kleiner Rat, Bd. 9, f. 71r (August 27, 1604) and Bd. 15, f. 16r (February 21, 1616), printed in Achilles Nordmann, “Geschichte der Juden in Basel seit dem Ende der zweiten Gemeinde bis zur Einführung der Glaubens und Gewissensfreiheit, 1375–1875,” *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 13 (1914): 27, n. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), chap. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Amy Nelson Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 32–34.

¹⁴⁹ John Calvin, CO 8: 835. See Lüber, “Basler Zensurpolitik,” 134, and Bainton, *Hunted Heretic*, 148 and 258 n. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Stephen G. Burnett, “The Regulation of Hebrew Printing in Germany, 1555–1630: Confessional Politics and the Limits of Jewish Toleration,” in: *Infinite Boundaries: Order, Disorder, and Reorder in Early Modern German Culture*, ed. Max Reinhart and Thomas Robisheaux (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1998), 339–343.

with greater rigor than Reformed governments. They did so because they felt directly threatened by the Catholic foe, and they also believed that they had to preserve their own unique theological identity against Lutheran schismatics.¹⁵¹ Under the terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), Lutheranism was a legal faith within the Holy Roman Empire, and Lutheran princes and magistrates sought to ensure that the Lutheran confession was clearly defined to maintain that privilege. To tolerate the printing and circulation of books advocating competing Protestant confessions would contradict this basic policy. Accordingly, the Duke of Württemberg decreed in 1555 that “no book contrary to our religion or causing unrest” could be printed there. In 1558, a further decree clarified its scope, stating that books by Calvinists, Anabaptists and any sect contrary to the Augsburg Confession fell under this ban. Duke Christoph sent a list of banned books to the University of Tübingen on 25 January 1564 to ensure that they were not printed or circulated there.¹⁵²

The book confiscations related to the Cryptocalvinist controversy that took place in Wittenberg during 1574 and the books seized from Tübingen bookseller Eberhard Wild in 1620 illustrate official Lutheran worries concerning subversive books. In Wittenberg the only Hebraica book seized was Mathias Flacius Illyricus’s *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*, probably because of Flacius’ reputation as a dissident Lutheran rather than for its actual content.¹⁵³ Both Johannes Dorsch of Rostock and Johann Gerhard of Jena owned copies of *Clavis Scripturae Sacrae* at some point after 1600, suggesting that Lutheran Hebraists could use the work at least in some Lutheran states.¹⁵⁴ Hebraica books, except for the works of Cornelius Agrippa von

¹⁵¹ Since only Catholicism and Lutheranism were legally recognized in the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), Lutheran princes and theologians had both political and religious reasons for seeking to define Lutheranism in ever more precise terms, culminating in the Formula of Concord (1580), thereby excluding Protestant dissenters, including those from within their own ranks, from the legal protection of this treaty. Heinz Schilling, “The Second Reformation—Problems and Issues,” in: *Religion, Political Culture, and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 50 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 247–301, here 265.

¹⁵² Günther Franz, “Bücherzensur und Irenik,” in: *Theologen und Theologie an der Universität Tübingen*, ed. Martin Brecht (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1977), 123–194, here 128–9.

¹⁵³ Hasse, *Zensur theologischer Bücher*, 420–429.

¹⁵⁴ Dorsche’s unpublished library inventory is preserved in Schwerin: Landeshauptarchiv Acta Acad VIIIc (Dorsche), Rep. 6; and Gerhard: *Bibliotheca Gerhardina: Rekonstruktion der Gelehrten- und Leihbibliothek Johann Gerhards (1582–1637) und seines Sohnes Johann Ernst Gerhard (1621–1668)*, ed. Johann Anselm Steiger, 2 vols. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), no. F102/93–2.

Nettesheim, were apparently not an issue in the Eberhard Wild case in Tübingen. Books on Schwenckfeldian spiritualism, Catholic piety, and heterodox Lutheran teaching drew the ire of officials there.¹⁵⁵ Since most Lutheran Hebraica concerned biblical philology or language learning tools such as grammars and lexicons, Lutheran censors seldom found reasons to object to their content.¹⁵⁶

Protestant Hebraists had few difficulties with their governments when it came to allowing printers to produce their works or purchasing Hebraica books written either by adherents of other confessions or by Jews. The Basel authorities' refusal to permit Servetus' *Christianismi Restitutio* to be printed there demonstrates that there were fairly clear limits to freedom of expression for Hebraists, but it was also an exceptional case. The differing attitudes of the Basel city council and the Geneva city council toward printing the Talmud shows the ambiguous attitude toward printing books that might be seen to promote Judaism, since a religious or intellectual case could be made either way on that question. In general, however, Reformed and Lutheran scholars throughout northern Europe as well as French Catholics were fairly free to read and respond to the works of Hebraists of other confessions.

Circulation of Hebraist Books across Confessional Lines in Northern Europe

The personal library holdings of northern European scholars, Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic alike, provide the strongest evidence for the ready circulation of Christian Hebraica across confessional and national boundaries.¹⁵⁷ The holdings of libraries owned by German Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, and French Reformed and Catholic authors demonstrate this point. Since these three regions were home to most of the

¹⁵⁵ Ulrich Bubenheim, "Schwarzer Buchmarkt in Tübingen und Frankfurt. Zur Rezeption nonkonformer Literatur in der Vorgeschichte des Pietismus," *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 13 (1994): 149–163, here 151–155.

¹⁵⁶ Stephen G. Burnett, "Lutheran Christian Hebraism in the Time of Solomon Glassius (1593–1656)," in: *Hebraistik - Hermeneutik - Homiletik. Die 'Philologia Sacra' im frühneuzeitlichen Bibelstudium*, ed. Christoph Bultmann and Lutz Danneberg, *Historia Hermeneutica*, Series Studia 10 (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming in 2011).

¹⁵⁷ I have derived most of the information in this section from library lists preserved in auction catalogues or testamentary inventories. Entries in these lists frequently lack specific titles, places of publication or printer names. Only the inventories of the libraries of Pierre Bullioud, Johann Michael Dilherr, and Johannes Gerhard were compiled by contemporary scholars after examining books that they had owned.

Hebrew printing industry in Reformation-era Europe and were also where most of the important controversies in Hebrew scholarship took place, these libraries are important indicators for the existence of a trans-confessional Hebraist conversation. We will analyze the contents of six German Lutheran Hebraica libraries owned by Johann Michael Dilherr (183 books), Johann Georg Dorsche (158 books), Johann Ernst Gerhard (99 books), Johannes Pappus (226 books), Andreas Sennert (115 books), and Georg Siegel (forty-seven books).¹⁵⁸ We will also consider five libraries owned by Reformed scholars in the Dutch Republic: Guilielmus Coddæus (306 books), Johannes Drusius (seventy-nine books), Thomas Erpenius (150 books), Constantine L'Empereur (235), and Joseph Juste Scaliger (ninety-seven).¹⁵⁹ Finally we will examine the French Hebrew books market by surveying the holdings of three Reformed Hebrew libraries belonging to Philippe du Plessis de Mornay (fifty-eight books), Isaac Casaubon (165), and Samuel Le Petit (ninety-one)¹⁶⁰ and four Catholic Hebraist

¹⁵⁸ Dilherr: statistics derived from Renate Jürgensen's unpublished database, which the Nuremberg: Bibliothek des Landeskirchlichen Archivs permitted me to consult; Dorsche: Schwerin, Landeshauptarchiv Acta Acad VIIIc (Dorsche); Gerhard: *Bibliotheca Gerhardina*; Pappus: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Ms. 42 Aug. 20; Sennert: *Bibliothecae Academiae Witebergensis Publicae Librorum* ... (Wittenberg: Impensis Editoris, 1678), 38–46; Siegel: Erlangen UB Ms 2436, ff. 81r–83v.

¹⁵⁹ Coddæus: *Catalogvs insignivm librorvm* (Leiden: Maire, 1630) *Book Sales Catalogue*, Fiche 2855; Drusius: *Catalogus Librorum Viri Clarissimi P. M. Ioh. Clem. Drusii* (Franeker: Fredericus Heynsius, 1616), *Book Sales Catalogue*, fiche 2866, and *Catalogus librorum bibliothecae publicae, quae est in illustrium Frisiae Ordinum Academia Franekerana* (Franeker: J. Alberti, 1656) Berlin SB Sig. 3 in: 4" Az 3316; Erpenius: Gerard Joannes Vossius, *Oratio in obitum Clarissimi ac praestantissimi viri Thomas Erpenii* (Leiden: Erpeniana, 1625), *Book Sales Catalogues*, fiche 1321–1322; L'Empereur: *Catalogus Variorum & Insignium praecipue Rabinicorum Librorum Bibliothecae Nobliss. & Clariss. viri Constantini L'Empereur* (Leiden: Severinus Matthaei, 1648), *Book Sales Catalogue*, fiche 2926; Scaliger: [Daniel Heinsius], *Catalogus Bibliothecae Publicae Lugduno-Batavae* (Leiden: Elzevier, 1636), 159–163.

¹⁶⁰ Mornay: I compared the rather spare inventories published by Roger Kuin, "Private Library as Public Danger," in: *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book*, ed. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles and Philip Conner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 319–358 with the inventory of the Saumur Academy (to which Mornay donated his library) in 1685 when it was closed. "Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de l'Academie [Saumur]," Paris: Archives Nationales, Cote TT/266 (1685); Petit: *Catalogus librorum insignium quamplurimorum ex bibliotheca viri clarissimi doctissimique Samuelis Petiti* (Paris: Sorber, 1645). The collection of Isaac Casaubon I reconstructed on the basis of six partial surviving inventories of his books (Oxford: Bodleian Library Ms Casaubon 22, parts 6, 7, 9–12) together with his books identified by the Old Royal Library catalogue (British Library Microfilm A 10504). I profited from T. A Birrell's "The Reconstruction of the library of Isaac Casaubon," in: *Hellinga Festschrift: Feestbundel: Forty-three Studies in Bibliography Presented to Prof. Dr. Wytze Hellinga on the Occasion of his Retirement from the Chair of Neophilology in the University of Amsterdam at the End of the Year 1978*, ed. A.R.A. Croiset van Uchelen (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1980), 59–68. The reconstruction of Casaubon's library offered by

libraries owned by Pierre Bullioud (seventy-one), Nicolaus-Claude Peiresc (sixteen), Jacques Hennequin (101), and Jean Bourdelot (110).¹⁶¹ All of these scholars were active between the 1580's and the 1660's, by which time Hebrew books were routinely listed in book catalogues. While the sizes of the samples are uneven, with 828 Hebraica books held by the German Lutherans, 867 by the Dutch, but only 298 owned by the French Catholics and 314 by French Reformed, a comparison of the overall proportions of books of different classes is nonetheless instructive.

The libraries of the German, Dutch and French scholars all indicate that they were able to purchase Hebrew books produced outside of their home countries. Only the German Lutherans owned mostly books published in their home region (55.9%), although German imprints amounted to almost a quarter of the holdings of both Dutch and French libraries as well.

Table 6.4. Hebraica books in scholarly libraries

Printer Region	French Catholic Collections		French Reformed Collections		Dutch Reformed Collections		German Lutheran Collections	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Denmark	0	0	0	0	1	<1%	4	<1%
Dutch Republic	19	6.4%	53	16.9%	121	13.9	133	16.1%

(Continued)

Grafton and Weinberg includes only those surviving books that can be positively identified as Casaubon's own. Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *"I have always loved the Holy Tongue." Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 329–331. I have listed Scaliger's library among the Dutch Reformed because at least part of his collection was acquired while he lived there, and his impact as a Christian Hebraist was most strongly felt there.

¹⁶¹ Bourdelot: Gilbert Dahan, "Le catalogue des livres hébraïques de Jean Bourdelot," *Archives juives* 11/3 (1975): 39–50; Peiresc: Jean-Marie Arnould, "Catalogue du fonds Peiresc de la Bibliothèque municipale de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Memoires de la Societe d'agriculture, commerce, sciences et arts du departement de la Marne* 89 (1974): 149–205; part 2: idem 90 (1975): 131–184; part 3: 94 (1979): 153–173; Bullioud: Monique Hulvey, "Les bibliotheques retrouvées de Sainte Pagnini, dominicain de Lucques et de Pierre Bullioud, "gentil-home" lyonnais: en hebreu et en grec," *Bulletin du bibliophile* (2009): 79–106; Hennequin: Jacques Hennequin, *Catalogus Librorum Domini Hennequin Doctoris et Professoris Sorbonici iuxta Contractum, cum Conventu FF Minorum Trecensium, coram Notarii Editum, in usum Publicum Digestorum Anno Domini 1656* (Troyes: Francois Jacquard, 1656), Gallica.bnf.fr, viewed 12 April 2010.

Table 6.4. (*Cont.*)

Printer Region	French Catholic Collections		French Reformed Collections		Dutch Reformed Collections		German Lutheran Collections	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England	1	<1%	0	0%	2	<1%	17	2%
France	60	20.1%	60	19.1%	87	10%	54	6.5%
Geneva	12	4%	16	5.1%	18	2.1%	27	3.3%
Germany	60	20.1%	87	27.7%	232	26.8%	463	55.9%
Italy	102	34.2%	37	11.8%	212	24.4%	43	5.2%
Ottoman Empire	1	<1%	1	<1%	18	2.1%	0	0%
Poland	5	1.7%	5	1.6%	11	1.3%	1	<1%
Spanish Netherlands	8	2.7%	12	3.8%	22	2.5%	21	2.5%
Spain	1	<1%	1	<1%	1	<1%	1	<1%
Unknown	29	9.7%	42	13.8%	142	16.4%	64	7.7%
TOTAL	298	100%	314	100%	867		828	100%

The scholarly libraries in all three regions contained significant numbers of books written by Hebraists from other Christian confessions as well. Of these the three most broadly collected kinds of works were written by Reformed, Catholic, and pre-confessional Protestant Hebraists.

Table 6.5 Hebraica books and authorial confession

	French Catholic Collections		French Reformed Collections		Dutch Reformed Collections		German Lutheran Collections	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Catholic Hebraica	80	26.8%	91	29%	160	18.4%	127	15.3%
Lutheran Hebraica	10	3.3%	8	2.5%	47	5.4%	226	27.3%
Reformed Hebraica	43	14.4%	94	29.9%	185	21.3%	255	30.8 %

Table 6.5 (*Cont.*)

	French Catholic Collections		French Reformed Collections		Dutch Reformed Collections		German Lutheran Collections	
	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
"Protestant" Hebraica	29	9.7%	46	14.6%	93	10.7%	114	13.8%
Anglican	1	<1%	1	<1%	8	<1%	12	1.4%
Confession	1	<1%	9	2.9%	15	1.7%	6	<1%
unknown								
Christian	164	55%	249	79.3%	508	58.6%	740	89.4%
Hebraica								
Total								
Jewish	134	45%	65	20.7%	359	41.4%	88	10.6%
Imprints								
Total	298	100%	314	100%	867	100%	828	100%
Hebraica								

There are striking disparities in the presence of books written by adherents of different confessions within these libraries. Reformed Christian Hebrew scholarship was best represented in all three regions when compared with those of other Christian confessions. Catholic Hebraica imprints (including Bibles) were also fairly common in all four groups. The only other class of Hebraica that was broadly held across confessions was preconfessional Protestant literature, whose best known authors were Sebastian Münster and Paul Fagius, both of whom died before 1560. By contrast, books by German Lutherans and Anglicans were less frequently acquired, and presumably read, by Catholic and Reformed scholars.

More surprising is the availability of Jewish books from Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and Poland. Whether through direct trade with Italy, distribution through the German book fairs, purchase from Jewish dealers or estate sales of other Hebraists, Jewish books printed in distant places were available for purchase in northern Europe. The relative proportions of Judaica holdings in these four groups of libraries are suggestive for the interest in reading Jewish texts directly. Both the Dutch Reformed and French Catholic Hebraist libraries had by far the largest holdings of

Jewish imprints, while the French Reformed and the German Lutherans held far fewer Jewish books. These figures are probably much lower than the true totals, since these library inventories often did not indicate where Jewish books were printed. The number of Jewish books lacking place of origin was 107 in Dutch collections (21%), forty-six in German Lutheran ones (52.3%), twenty-eight (20.9%) in French Catholic and twenty-four (36.9%) in French Protestant libraries. Whatever the true figures, however, it is clear that Jewish books were available for purchase in considerable quantity and were acquired above all by Dutch Reformed and French Catholic Hebraists.

This examination of press controls throughout Reformation Europe as they relate to Christian Hebraist books suggests that there was a public dialogue concerning Hebrew and Jewish texts in parts of northern Europe but not in southern Europe. Spanish Hebraists labored under a pervasive regime of press controls that theoretically allowed them to read a large share of the Christian Hebraica produced in Protestant Europe, once it had been suitably expurgated, but that made it extremely difficult for them to publish their own responses to them. Those who wished to read Jewish texts in their original languages had further barriers to overcome. By requiring that Spanish Hebraists seek special permission before reading Jewish biblical commentaries, the Spanish Inquisition effectively forbade them to use Rabbinic Bibles, one of the most fundamental tools for Hebraist biblical scholarship during the Reformation era.¹⁶²

Italian Hebraists were similarly constrained, both by their lack of access to a large percentage of Hebraist books printed in Protestant lands and by their need for patronage in order to pursue their studies. Such scholars were far more subject to pressure from patrons, employers, and religious orders than were Protestant authors, even before they had actually composed a text containing objectionable material. Athanasius Kircher was a lonely exception to the rule, thanks to his enormous reputation and his generous patrons who did not attempt to influence or limit his scholarship. He was also able to circumvent the Jesuit order's vetting process most of the time, but even he complained that he could not write and print what he wished in mid-seventeenth century Rome. Italian Hebraists were more often than not silent readers rather than active participants in Reformation-era Hebraist discourse. When their voices were heard, it was often because their works were printed elsewhere, especially in France.

¹⁶² Burnett, "Strange Career of the *Biblia Rabbinica*."

Catholic Hebraists in the Spanish Netherlands and Germany had better access to the Hebraica works of Protestants than did their counterparts in southern Europe, but they did not, or could not, use their freedom to full effect. These Catholic Hebraists produced only a handful of works after the death of Plantin in 1589. Even their share of anti-Protestant polemics was quite small when compared with the output of French Catholic writers. Only in France, with its strong humanist tradition, independent monarchs, and traditional ecclesiastical independence from Rome could Catholic Hebraism develop and grow. It is probably no coincidence that France was the only Catholic country in northern Europe where the Roman Index never played a role in press controls. Both Protestant Hebrew books and Judaica circulated freely in France, and Catholic Hebraists there were free to read and respond to them.

The combination of a vibrant academic and theological culture that involved Hebrew learning within Protestant Europe, academic presses that were supported either by a sufficient number of customers or by wealthy patrons, and a relatively benign press control regimen that allowed Hebraica books to circulate freely across national and confessional boundaries meant that Hebrew scholarship was able to flourish in northern Europe.

CONCLUSION

The seeds of early modern Christian Hebraism were planted before Martin Luther proposed his 95 Theses, but it was the Reformation that made them grow. A handful of medieval Christian Hebraists were already involved in the most essential core activities of their discipline in the thirteenth century: textual scholarship (correcting the Vulgate), biblical exegesis, and the use of Hebrew to inform anti-Jewish polemical writings. Pico della Mirandola's interest in the *Prisca Theologia*, and his identification of the Kabbalah as a Jewish branch of that ancient tradition of secret knowledge, motivated Johannes Reuchlin and others to pursue Hebrew learning. The biblical humanism espoused by Erasmus encouraged others to return to the sources and inspired rulers to found the first university professorships of Hebrew. Beginning with Aldus Manutius' firm, a few humanist presses began to print Christian Hebrew books. Yet only a few experts profited from most of these preliminary steps.

The Reformation intensified these small developments, and the newly founded Protestant and Catholic confessional churches recruited Christian Hebraists into their service. The fundamental challenge that Luther and other Protestants issued to the Catholic Church and its hierarchy concerned the basis of its authority. They asserted that the Bible's authority was superior to that of popes and church councils and that the biblical text was perspicuous and could be understood without the guidance of the church hierarchy. Protestants of all kinds argued that the true locus of religious authority was the biblical text in its original languages, Hebrew and Greek. Catholic traditionalists questioned both the reliability of the received biblical text when compared to the Vulgate and also its perspicuity, arguing that without the church hierarchy's guidance the unbridled interpretation of these texts would only lead to heresy. The logic of *sola scriptura* impelled Protestants to pursue Hebrew learning in unprecedented numbers, and the apologetic and theological needs of Catholicism did the same for Catholic scholars.

Protestant and Catholic scholars shared a motive for Hebrew study, learning to read the Old Testament in the original language, and their secular and ecclesiastical leaders quickly supplied them with opportunities to do so by founding an ever-increasing number of professorships of Hebrew in universities throughout Europe. Students who studied Hebrew

in these universities, together with those who learned it in monastic settings, Latin schools, or with private tutors, gained some familiarity with the language and became part of the Christian reading public for Hebraica books. A smaller number of scholars achieved fluency in Hebrew and used their new skills to explore the Jewish corpus of scholarship and to adapt Jewish texts for Christian use. Christian presses began to print Hebraica books in ever increasing numbers, seeking to profit from the needs of this nascent market. Patrons in all of the confessional churches aided individual authors and subsidized the printing of major works in support of their churches and to burnish their own reputations. The sheer number of Christian Hebrew books produced between 1501 and 1660 reflects the vibrancy of the new market and its perceived importance for supporting the new confessional churches. Patronage alone could not have accounted for all of these imprints, although it had an important role to play in supporting Christian Hebrew scholarship.

If the Reformation provided both the motive and means for learning Hebrew, it also placed important limits on the kinds of inquiries scholars could pursue in print. These limits reflected the needs and priorities of the confessional churches, particularly to defend themselves against heresy and to define themselves from within. Catholicism became the foremost proponent of controlling Hebrew learning, above all through the Roman Index of Prohibited Books. During the Council of Trent (1545–1563), when the first general indexes were created (1559, 1564), the Catholic Church was under siege, and its very survival in some parts of Europe was an open question. Consequently, the framers of these first indexes sought to deter Catholics from reading Protestant authors, including Hebraists, in order to stem the tide of Protestant heresy. Catholics were forbidden to read the works of Protestant Hebraists or to quote them in their works, effectively preventing them from writing even polemical works against them. The indexes also affected other Catholics involved with the book trade: printers were ordered not to reprint the books of heretics, booksellers were forbidden to buy and sell them, and customers were not to purchase and keep them. By implication, Catholic patrons who wished to support Hebraist authors also had to consider their own reputations for orthodoxy; since Catholic authors were dependent upon their support, patrons probably also worked to ensure compliance with Tridentine standards.

The framers of the Roman Index also feared that some kinds of Jewish learning, notably Kabbalah, were dangerous to the Catholic faith, and they forbade Catholics to read such books as well. Despite demonstrable

Catholic interest in Kabbalah both before and after Trent, the kabbalistic works of Johannes Reuchlin, Paul Ricius and Francesco Giorgio, the fountainheads of kabbalistic learning, were banned. Even bibliographic guides to Hebraica such as Sixtus of Sienna's *Bibliotheca sancta* (1566) and Jean Plantavit de la Pause's *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (1644) contributed to the control of reading by naming forbidden books only to dissuade Catholics from reading them. The true goal of the Roman Index of Prohibited Books, like any systematic press control regimen, was not simply to suppress unacceptable texts but also to deter Catholic authors, readers, printers, and collectors from any involvement with such books, seeking their voluntary compliance and their willingness to inform the authorities of violations.

Apart from the problem of heresy, the prohibitions of both the Roman and Spanish Indexes reflected in part official worries about New Christians being tempted to Judaize by reading Jewish books. The Spanish Index of 1583 condemned Muslim and Jewish literature in general and banned the Talmud with its glosses, annotations and interpretations, as well as the biblical commentaries of Rashi and David Kimhi, the "Jerusalemite Rabbis," and any Latin translations of Judaica by Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius.¹ The Roman Index of 1596 contained general condemnations of "impious Talmudic, cabbalistic and other Hebrew books", and specific bans on the "Commentaries of Rabbi Salomon [Rashi] and Chimi [Kimhi] and Hierosolymitano, both the Hebrew and the Latin translation of Conrad Pellican and Paul Fagius, heretics."² After 1560, Catholic translations of Jewish books were printed only in places beyond the reach of the Roman Index and Inquisition. Translators of Hebraica such as Philippe d'Aquin, Johannes Drusius, Paul Fagius, Sebastian Münster, Conrad Pellican, Guillaume Postel, and Paul Ricius figured prominently among authors condemned by the Roman Index.

While previous scholars who have studied the impact of the Roman Index have questioned its effectiveness, the evidence of Hebrew authorship and printing after 1560 appears to confirm that at least in this area of scholarship press controls were effective. This success of Catholic press

¹ Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Jackie Feldman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 74.

² William Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1899), 90. The Latin text of the decree, together with the note prohibiting translation of the Mahzor, was printed in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Rome: Camerales, 1596), unfoliated, but the leaf immediately before leaf A1r.

controls may have been achieved because there were relatively few Hebrew presses in Catholic Europe outside of France, and their output could be monitored. Italian Christian Hebraist books doubtless received careful scrutiny from representatives of the Roman Inquisition after the Council of Trent, since it was responsible both for enforcing the Index of Prohibited Books, and it was also the driving force behind the campaign against Jewish printing and books during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Catholic Hebraists in northern Europe were freer to read Christian Hebraist books written by Protestants than Italian and Spanish scholars, but they were apparently less free to respond to them in print. Scholars living in the Spanish Netherlands and in Catholic Germany did not experience the full impact of the Roman Index, yet they wrote relatively few Hebraica books.³ Whether these Hebraists were less productive than French Catholic scholars or their Protestant counterparts because of a lack of patronage, the impact of religious wars on their universities, or, in the case of Jesuit scholars, frequent reassignment to new universities or duties, cannot be determined in the present state of research, although the latter two factors had an indisputable impact on academic life there.

France was the only Catholic country that was not subject to the Roman or Spanish Indexes, and Hebrew scholarship there took an entirely different course than elsewhere in the Catholic world. Paris authors and printers out-produced their colleagues in all other Catholic centers after 1560. They also produced most Catholic books on Kabbalah and most Catholic translations of Jewish texts. Parisian Catholic authors wrote the most original and important polemical works against Protestants, specifically those that questioned the integrity, authority, and perspicuity of the Hebrew Bible text, freely quoting and refuting their Protestant foes. French Catholic Hebraists were well supported by patrons and libraries and were able to borrow or purchase Protestant Hebrew books and Jewish books for their work.

Protestant Hebraists, whether Anglican, Reformed or Lutheran, also worked under constraints, but these were far fewer than what their Catholic counterparts experienced. The press controls of Protestant countries affected only the most marginal of Hebrew books, such as the works

³ The Plantin press was the sole exception to this generalization, and after the death of Christopher Plantin in 1589 it too shifted away from most Hebrew printing, producing only eight imprints between 1589 and 1660.

of Michael Servetus. Protestant authors enjoyed a far stronger market for their books, and they were far less dependent on patronage. In the Dutch Republic, England, and above all Lutheran Germany, Hebrew learning sank deep roots, becoming part not only of university learning but also not infrequently of Latin school instruction as well. The enormous numbers of beginning grammars, readers, anthologies, manuals, and even polyglot catechisms produced there point to strong customer demand among beginning and intermediate Hebrew students for textbooks. By contrast the Catholic Hebrew market was a hothouse flower that required careful tending and protection.

Confessional differences and priorities also affected the kinds of books that Christian Hebrew authors and their printers produced. Hebraists of all confessions acknowledged the importance of textual scholarship, biblical exegesis and anti-Jewish polemical literature, and some writers in each confession composed books on these subjects. Catholic writers were particularly involved in polemical discussions of the reliability of the received Hebrew Bible text because of its critical importance for Protestant theology, evoking many Protestant, and a few Catholic, responses in defense of the received textual tradition.

Confessional differences were most visible, however, in those genres that made up less than five percent of all imprints. Catholic Hebraists, for example, were the most active promoters of Kabbalah, but also of Near Eastern languages such as Syriac and Arabic. Throughout the Reformation era both Rome and Paris would remain centers of scholarship in oriental languages. Catholic writers also wrote a number of polemical works against Jews and Judaism, perhaps because of the priority given to the Jewish mission by the popes after 1560.⁴

Both Anglican and Reformed scholars pursued Near Eastern language studies, and they employed the Semitic languages as a tools for comparative biblical philology in grammars and dictionaries and in a number of philological biblical commentaries. Anglicans and Reformed scholars were also the most active in historical scholarship, attempting to understand above all the biblical period and the Second Jewish Commonwealth by studying Jewish historical scholarship and halakic literature.

⁴ See Karl Hoffman, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Juden- und Mohammedanermision im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1923), and Kenneth R. Stow, *Catholic Thought and Papal Jewry Policy, 1555–1593* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976).

Lutherans, by contrast, were more conservative in that they mainly stressed textual scholarship, biblical interpretation, and polemics against the Jews. Although their contributions have been often overlooked, Lutheran Hebraists produced a large corpus of Hebraica books. The biblical introductions of Matthias Flacius and Solomon Glassius were outstanding contributions to scholarship, and the vast number of Hebrew readers based upon “liturgical” Hebrew works, such as Luther’s Small Catechism, had no counterpart in other confessions. Lutheran Hebraists also were unusual in that they were more willing to print Jewish polemical texts such as Lipman Muhlhausen’s *Liber Nizachon* (1644) and to engage in anti-Jewish polemics than was common among other Protestants. This may reflect the tendency that Thomas Kaufmann identified in late sixteenth-century Lutheranism to equate a Lutheran confessional identity with being “anti-Jewish.”⁵

Christian Hebraist writers and their supporters and readers succeeded in creating an academic culture of Hebrew learning within the Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican churches. Hebrew learning manifested itself primarily in books and in classrooms and did not have a ritual or ceremonial expression that involved Christians who were not associated with the academic elite. The only public uses of Hebrew learning all involved academic life, whether Hebrew orations to ornament public ceremonies or Hebrew poetry to praise the attainments of colleagues or character of the princes. Hebrew was a tool for academic study, not an essential element of identity as it was for early modern Jews.

Christian Hebraism enlisted the help of Jews and Jewish converts to create this new academic discipline. Jews tutored Christians in Hebrew and Aramaic, served as agents to purchase books and manuscripts, scribes to copy manuscripts, and even as scholars to write or edit the actual books that Christians needed. Elias Levita’s books written while he lived in Cardinal Viterbo’s household were tremendously important for the growth of Christian Hebraism, but so also were the efforts of the Complutensian Bible editors and Jacob ben Hayyim, the editor of the Second Rabbinic Bible. Their help in creating a Christian form of Hebrew scholarship, one entirely outside of traditional Judaism, complicated the already difficult relationship between Christians and Jews but in the end enriched it as well. By creating an appreciation for some elements of Jewish

⁵ Thomas Kaufmann, “Luther and the Jews,” in: *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Dean Philip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 69–104, here 99.

scholarship, Christian Hebraism also became a force for preserving Jewish texts through institutions as different as the Bodleian and Vatican Libraries, although Christian Hebraists also used these books for their own purposes.

Christian Hebraism in the Reformation era was an improbable academic success story. While denying the religious claims of Judaism, Christian authors sought to mine Jewish tradition for texts, insights, and information that would enrich Christian thought, producing over two thousand Hebraica books to mediate this new body of learning. They accomplished this feat at a time when Christendom itself was splitting into mutually hostile confessional churches that were united in their distrust of and hostility to Judaism. Christian Hebraists found support within these churches—Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican—to carry on their professional activities. Christian Hebraists of all stripes invoked Jewish scholarly authority to support their positions on theological and cultural issues involving Hebrew texts, sometimes in opposition to other Christians, and in the process created a new academic discipline, firmly fixed within European university life. To this day the shelves of European libraries groan under the weight of their books, providing the most tangible evidence of their success.

APPENDIX ONE

CHRISTIAN HEBRAIST AUTHORS, 1501–1660

Christian Hebrew authors are among the most important figures in this book, but to fully describe their work or even provide capsule biographies is impossible within a study of this scope. Accordingly I have followed the structure of Raphael Loewe's Christian Hebraism article by provided an alphabetical listing of Hebraica authors. By using these names readers should be able to trace their publications through searching online catalogues and printed bibliographies.¹

Sources:

ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> (1875–1912). Online access: www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html .
Backer	Augustin de Backer, et. al, <i>Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus</i> . 1. ptie.: <i>Bibliographie</i> par les pères Augustin et Aloys de Backer. 2. ptie.: <i>Histoire</i> , par le père Auguste Carayon, 12 vols. (Bruxelles, Schepens, 1890–1932).
BBKL	Traugott Bautz, <i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon</i> (1990–2011). Online access: www.bautz.de/bbkl .
BS Matr	<i>Die Matrikel der Universität Basel</i> , ed. Hans Georg Wackernagel, Marc Sieber and Hans Sutter, vol. 2: <i>1532/3–1600/1</i> (Basel: Verlag der Universitätsbibliothek, 1956).
CathE	<i>Catholic Encyclopedia</i> , 15 vols. (1907–1915). Online access: www.newadvent.org/cathen .
CE	<i>Contemporaries of Erasmus</i> , 3 vols. ed. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985–1987).
Dansk	<i>Dansk Biografisk Leksikon</i> , 27 vols. ed. C. F. Bricka, P. Engelstoft and S. Dahl (1933–1944).

¹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2d ed. s. v., "Hebraists, Christian" (by Raphael Loewe), <http://www.gale.cengage.com/servlet/GvrlMS?msg=ma> / (accessed 10 August 2011). Loewe lists only 215 of the 424 authors mentioned in this appendix (50.7%).

- DBF *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, ed. J. Batteau, M. Barroux and M. Prévost (1933–).
- Fück, *Arabische* J. Fück, *Die arabische Studien in Europe bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955).
- HLS *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (2002–), www.dhs.ch.
- Jewish Enc *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (1901–6). Available online: www.jewishencyclopedia.com.
- Jöcher Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, et al., *Allgemeine Gelehrten Lexicon*, 11 vols. (1750–1819).
- Katchen Aaron L. Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- NBU *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 46 vols. (1853–66). Online access available through www.archive.org.
- NDB *Neue Deutsche Biographie* (1953–Present). Online access: www.deutsche-biographie.de/index.html.
- NNBW *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 10 vols. (1911–37). Online access: www.historici.nl/retroboeken/vdaa/#source=aa__001biog1001.xml&page=433&size=800&accessor=accessor_index.
- ODNB *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Prantl Karl von Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität in Ingolstadt, Landshut, München*, 2 vols. (1872; reprint: Aalen: Scientia, 1968).
- Rietbergen Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome. Barberini Cultural Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
- Schindling Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538–1621* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977).
- Schw Paris Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hébreu à Paris au xvie siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 2004).
- Segert Stanislav Segert and Karel Beránek, *Orientalistik an der Prager Universität*, Erster Teil: 1348–1848 (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1967).
- Suess Hermann Suess, “Jüdische Lektoren an der Universität Altdorf im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,” in: *Jüdisches Leben in Franken*, ed. Gunnar Och and Hartmut Bobzin (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), 53–67.

Svensk	<i>Svenska män och kvinnor: biografisk uppslagsbok</i> , ed. Nils Bohman (Stockholm, 1942–1955).
Szrin	J. Szinnyei, <i>Magyar irok</i> , 6 vols. (1891–1914; reprinted 1939–44).
Todd	Henry John Todd, <i>Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Brian Walton D. D.</i> , 2 vols. (London: Longman, Hurst et al., 1821).
Van Rooden	Peter T. Van Rooden: <i>Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden</i> , trans. J. C. Grayson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989).
Wadding	Lucas Wadding, <i>Scriptores Ordinis Minorum</i> (Rome: Attilio Nardecchia, 1906).
Wilkinson, Ant	Robert J. Wilkinson, <i>The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot</i> (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007).
Wilkinson, Or	Robert J. Wilkinson, <i>Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation: The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament</i> (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2007).

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Abram, Nicolas	French	Catholic	DBF
Abudacnus, Joseph	Egyptian	Coptic	ODNB
Adam, Michael	German Jew	Reformed	Zürcher ²
Adrianus, Matthias	Spanish Jew	Catholic	CE 1:9–10
Aemilius, Paul [Emilius]	German Jew	Catholic	Prantl 1: 328
Agrippa, Heinrich Cornelius	German	Catholic	CE 1:18
Alabaster, William	English	Anglican	ODNB
Aleandro, Girolamo	Italian	Catholic	CE 1:28–32
Alonso de Alcalá	Spanish Jew	Catholic	
Alsted, Johann Heinrich	German	Reformed	ADB
Alting, Jacob	German	Reformed	ADB
Amama, Sixtius	Dutch	Reformed	Van Rooden, 64–9

² Christoph Zürcher, *Konrad Pellikans Wirken in Zürich 1526–1556* (Zürich: Theologische Verlag, 1975), 169–174.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Ambrosius, Theseus	Italian	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Or</i> , 11–27
Amira, Georgius	Syrian	Catholic	Rietbergen ³
Andres, Juan	Spanish Jew	Catholic	Schw Paris, 149
Aquin, Louis Henri d'	French Jew	Catholic	Jewish Enc
Aquin, Philippe d'	Italian Jew	Catholic	
Archangelo de Burgonovo	Italian	Catholic	
Aretius, Benedictus [Marty]	Swiss	Reformed	HLS
Arias Montano, Benito	Spanish	Catholic	Rekers ⁴
Artopoeus, Peter [Becker]	German	Lutheran	BS Matr 2: 443
Aslacus, Conrad	Norwegian	Lutheran	BS Matr 2: 443
Auvergne, Claude d'	French	Catholic	
Avianus, Hieronymus	German	Lutheran	Bobzin ⁵
Baillie, Robert	Scottish	Reformed	ODNB
Baldovius, Johann	German	Lutheran	
Balduin, Friedrich	German	Lutheran	ADB
Balenus, André	Flemish	Catholic	CE 1: 90
Ballester, Luis	Spanish	Catholic	Jöcher 1: 744–5
Bang, Thomas	Danish	Lutheran	Dansk; NBU
Bangert, Heinrich	German	Lutheran	
Basilius, Daniel	Slovakian	Lutheran	Segert, 53
Beaton, John	English	Anglican?	
Beck, Bartholomaeus	German	Lutheran	Bobzin
Begnamino, Jacomo	Italian	Catholic	
Bellarmino, Robert	Italian	Catholic	BBKL
Beringer, Michael	German	Lutheran	
Bertram, Bonaventure C.	French	Reformed	DBF
Beveridge, William	English	Anglican	ODNB

³ Peter Rietbergen, *Power and Religion in Baroque Rome: Barberini Cultural Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 303, 397–398.

⁴ B. Rekers, *Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598)* (London and Leiden: Warburg Institute/E. J. Brill, 1972).

⁵ Hartmut Bobzin, "Philologendichtung. Seltene Einblattdrucke aus der ehemaligen Universitätsbibliothek Altdorf," *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 24 (1996): 134–147, 135–136.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Baynes, Ralph	English	Catholic	ODNB
Biancuzzi, Benedetto	Italian	Catholic	
Bibliander, Theodor	Swiss	Reformed	HLS
Blankenburg, Friedrich	German	Lutheran	Schindling, 264
Blebel, Thomas	German	Lutheran	
Blebel, Thomas, Jr.	German	Lutheran	
Boate, Arnold	Dutch	Reformed	ODNB
Bockwitz, Balthasar	German	Lutheran	
Boeschenstein, Johann	German	Catholic	Prantl 1: 486
Bohemus [Boehme], Johann	German	Lutheran	
Bohl, Samuel	German	Lutheran	
Boreel, Johannes	Dutch	Reformed	van Rooden, 219.
Borrhaus, Martin	German	Reformed	CE 1: 174
Botsack, Johann	German	Lutheran	
Boulaise, Jean Arrotensis	French	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Ant</i> , 56
Bourdelot, Jean	French	Catholic	DBF
Broughton, Hugh	English	Anglican	ODNB
Brunner, Johann	German	Catholic	
Bucer, Martin	German	Protestant	CE 1:209–212
Bulaeus, Olivarius	unknown	Reformed?	
Burdegalensis, Jacob	French	Catholic	Wadding, 132
Buxtorf, Johannes, elder.	German	Reformed	Burnett ⁶
Buxtorf, Johannes, younger	Swiss	Reformed	HLS
Bythner, Victorin	Polish	Anglican	ODNB
Caesar, Bartholomaeus	German	Catholic?	
Calasius, Marius de	Italian	Catholic	CathE
Calvin, John	French	Reformed	
Campen, Jan van den	Flemish	Catholic	CE 1 :255
Caninius, August	Italian	Catholic	
Capito, Wolfgang	German	Protestant	BBKL

⁶ Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996).

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Cappel, Louis	French	Reformed	BBKL
Carretus, Ludovicus	Italian Jewish	Catholic	
Cartwright, Christopher	English	Anglican	ODNB
Casaubon, Meric	French	Anglican	ODNB
Casteels, Johan	Flemish	Catholic	Jöcher 1:1740
Castell, Edmund	English	Anglican	ODNB
Cayet, Pierre-Victor Palma	French	Catholic	Schw Paris, 46
Cellarius, Johannes	German	Lutheran	
Chatard, Jean	French	Catholic	
Cheradame, Jean	French	Catholic	
Chevallier, Antoine	French	Reformed	ODNB
Chevalier, Pierre	French	Reformed	
Chytraeus, David	German	Lutheran	ADB
Ciantes, Joseph Maria	Italian	Catholic	Toth ⁷
Cinqarbres, Jean de	French	Catholic	DBF
Clajus, Johannes	German	Lutheran	ADB
Clarke, Samuel	English	Anglican	ODNB
Cleynarts, Nicholas	Flemish	Catholic	CE 1: 312–313
Cloppenburg, Johannes	Dutch	Reformed	Van Rooden, 218
Coccejus, Johannes	German	Reformed	Van Rooden, 119
Coddaeus, Guilelmus	Dutch	Reformed	
Combonus, Hieronymus	Italian	Catholic	Wadding, 116
Coronel, Pablo	Spanish Jew	Catholic	Rummel ⁸
Costus, Petrus	French	Catholic	Schwarzfuchs ⁹
Crinesius, Christoph	German	Lutheran	ADB
Cruciger, Georg	German	Reformed	NDB

⁷ Laszlo Toth, “Joseph Ciantes, Kabbaliste Chretien Tardif?” in: *Documents oubliés sur l'alchimie, la kabbale et Guillaume Postel Offerts, à l'occasion De Son 90e Anniversaire, à Francois Secret Par Ses Élèves Et Amis*, ed. Sylvain Matton, (Droz, 2001), 277–351.

⁸ Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), 59.

⁹ Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais au xvie siècle. Inventaire chronologique* (Lyon: ENS Éditions, 2008), 28–30.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Csipkes, Georg	Hungarian	Reformed	Murdock ¹⁰
Cunaeus, Petrus	Dutch	Reformed	Eyffinger ¹¹
Cuno, Johannes G	German	Lutheran	ADB
Curtius, Sebastian G	German	Reformed	BS Matr 3: 403
David, Leonard	German Jew	Catholic	
Dieu, Louis de	Dutch	Reformed	Van Rooden, 135 n. 152
Dilherr, Johannes Michael	German	Lutheran	ADB
Dinckel, Johann	German	Lutheran	ADB
Doeling, Johannes	German	Lutheran	
Dominicus Germanus	German	Catholic	Fück, <i>Arabische</i> , 77–78
Donatus [Donati], Francesco	Italian	Catholic	
Draconites, Johannes	German	Lutheran	CE 1: 404–5
Drosay, Jean de	French	Catholic	
Drusius, Johannes	Dutch	Reformed	Katchen, 31–34
Drusius, Johann, younger	Dutch	Reformed	
Dufour, Thomas	French	Catholic	DBF
Duret, Claude	French	Catholic	
Ebert, Jacob	German	Lutheran	
Ebert, Theodor	German	Reformed	ADB
Echellensis, Abraham	Lebanese	Catholic	Rietbergen, 301–335
Eck, Johannes	German	Catholic	CE 1: 416–419
Elhanan Paul	Hung. Jew	Lutheran	Ahrens ¹²
Elichmann, Johannes	German	unknown	
Emmelius, Helfrich	German	Lutheran	
Enea, Paulo	unknown	unknown	

¹⁰ Komáromi Csipkés, György. Graeme Murdock, *International Calvinism and the Frontiers: International Calvinism and the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 59.

¹¹ Arthur Eyffinger, Introduction to Petrus Cunaeus, *The Hebrew Republic*, trans. Peter Wyenzner (Jerusalem and New York: Shalom Press, 2006), ix–lxx, here xviii–xxvi.

¹² Sabine Ahrens, *Lehrkräfte der Universität Helmstedt* (Helmstedt: Kreismuseen Helmstedt, 2004), 175 under entry “Paulus von Prag.”

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Erpenius, Thomas	Dutch	Reformed	van Rooden, 57–64
Espieres, Joannes d'	French	Catholic	
Estienne, Robert	French	Reformed	Armstrong ¹³
Faber, Georg	German	Lutheran	
Fabricius, Laurentius	German	Lutheran	
Fabricius, Theodor	German	Lutheran	
Fabricius, Theodosius	German	Lutheran	
Fagius, Paul	German	Protestant	BBKL
Farfan, Francisco	Spanish	Catholic	Jöcher 2: 516
Felice, da Prato = Pratenis	Italian Jewish	Catholic	CE 2:15
Ferrari, Giovanni Baptista	Italian	Catholic	Backer 3: 676–678
Fessel, Daniel	German	Lutheran	
Figueiro, Pedro	Portuguese	Catholic	Jöcher 2: 606
Fioghi, Fabiano	Italian	Catholic	
Flacius, Matthias	Slovenian	Lutheran	BBKL
Flavigny, Valerin de	French	Catholic	
Fludd, Robert	English	Anglican	ODNB
Foekler, Joannes	unknown	Reformed?	
Fongers, Jan	Dutch	Reformed	
Fonseca, Antonio	Spanish	Catholic	
Forster, Johannes	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Fortius [Forst], Johannes	Czech	Lutheran	Segert, 16, 21–29
Franchi (dei), Guglielmo	Italian Jewish	Catholic	
Francke, Gregor	German	Reformed	ADB
Frichius, Ambrosius	French	Catholic	Schw Paris, no. 313
Fuller, Nicholas	English	Anglican	ODNB
Gaffarel, Jacques	French	Catholic	Pintard ¹⁴
Gaiotius, Marcus Antonius	French	Catholic	

¹³ Elizabeth Tyler Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer; an Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).

¹⁴ René Pintard *Le Libertinage erudite dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Boivin, 1943), 187–190, passim.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Galatinus, Petrus	Italian	Catholic	CE 2:72–73
Gataker, Thomas	English	Anglican	ODNB
Gaulmin, Gilbert	French	Catholic	DBF
Geier, Martin	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Génébrard, Gilbert	French	Catholic	DBF
Gentius, Georg	German	Lutheran	Katchen, 247–268
Gennep, Andreas. See Balenus, André			
Gerhard, Johann Ernst	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Gerschow, Jakob	German	Lutheran	ADB
Gesius, Gottfried	German	Lutheran	
Gezelius, Johann Georg	Swedish	Lutheran	Mustelin ¹⁵
Gibelius, Abraham	German	Lutheran	
Giggeius, Antonius	Italian	Catholic	Fück, <i>Arabische</i> , 79
Gilbert, Martin	French	Catholic?	
Glass, Salomo	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Godefroy, Pierre	Flemish	Catholic	Jöcher 2:1094
Goetzius, Valentin	German	Lutheran	
Goldhahn, Matthaeus	Czech	Lutheran	NDB
Golius, Jacob	Dutch	Reformed	ADB
Gomarus, Franciscus	Dutch	Reformed	ADB
Grabow, Peter	German	Lutheran	
Graser, Konrad	German	Lutheran	
Greaves, Thomas	English	Anglican	ODNB
Groenbeck, Isaac	Danish	Lutheran	Jöcher 2: 1191
Gross, Johann Georg	Swiss	Reformed	
Grothus, Arnold	German	Lutheran	
Guichard, Etienne	French	Catholic	
Guidacerius, Agathius	Italian	Catholic	Galliner ¹⁶
Habermann, Johannes	Czech	Lutheran	BBKL

¹⁵ Olof Mustelin, “Gezelius, Johannes,” in: *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, ed. Bertil Boëthius, et. al., 32 vols. (Stockholm: Abelin-Sparre, 1918–2006), 17: 101–104.

¹⁶ Helmuth Galliner, “Agathius Guidacerius 1477?–1540. An Early Hebrew Grammarian in Rome and Paris,” *Historia Judaica* 2/1 (1940): 85–101.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Hackspan, Theodor	German	Lutheran	ADB
Hafenreffer, Matthias	German	Lutheran	NDB
Haguelon, Pierre	French	unknown	
Hahn, Philipp	German	Lutheran	Jöcher 2:1321
Hambraeus, Jonas	Danish	Lutheran	
Hanewinkel, Gerhard	German	Reformed	BS Matr 2: 60
Hanneken, Meno	German	Lutheran	ADB
Happel, Wigand	German	Lutheran	
Hartmann, Philipp	German	Lutheran	Jöcher 2: 1382–3
Hasen, Joachim	German	Lutheran	
Havemann, Michael	German	Lutheran	
Heath, Richard	English	Anglican	Todd, 268–9
Helicz, Paul	Polish Jewish	Catholic	Teter/Fram ¹⁷
Helvigijs, Andreas	German	Lutheran	ADB
Helwig, Christoph	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Helwig, Martin	German	Lutheran	NDB
Hepburn, James Bonaventure	Scottish	Catholic	ODNB
Herbst, Walter	German Jew	Lutheran	Jöcher 2: 1526
Hoornbeeck, Johannes	Dutch	Reformed	NNBW
Hottinger, Johann Heinrich	Swiss	Reformed	NDB
Hulsius, Anton	Dutch	Reformed	NNBW
Hume [Humius], James	Scottish	unknown	ODNB
Humphrey, Laurence	English	Anglican	ODNB
Hutter, Elias	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Hyde, Thomas	English	Anglican	ODNB
Ingmethorpe, Thomas	English	Anglican	ODNB
Iona, Joannes Baptista	Jewish	Catholic	Pick ¹⁸

¹⁷ Magda Teter and Edward Fram, "Apostasy, Fraud and the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing in Cracow," *AJS Review* 30:1 (2006): 31–66.

¹⁸ B. Pick, "Battista, Giovanni Giuda Geona," *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature, Supplement*, vol. 1, ed. John M'Clintock and James Strong (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1889), 378.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Isaac, Johannes	German Jew	Catholic	de Vocht ¹⁹
Isaac, Stephen	German	Catholic	NDB
Johnson, Sampson	English?	Anglican	
Jonae, Sven	Swedish	Lutheran	
Jonston, John	Scottish	Reformed?	ODNB
Jordin, Antonio	Italian	Catholic	Backer 4:820–1
Joseph Acurensen	Lebanese	Catholic	
Josephus, Paul	Polish Jew	Lutheran	Suess, 56–59
Junius, Franz	French	Reformed	Van Rooden, 52
Justinianus, Augustus	Italian	Catholic	CE 2: 102–103
Kalundborg, Hans Pedersen	Danish	Lutheran	Dansk, 7:579
Kalundborg, Søren Pedersen	Danish	Lutheran	
Keckermann, Bartholomaeus	German	Reformed	ADB
Kerssenbroick, Hermann von	German	Catholic	ADB
Kilius, Georg [Keil]	German	Lutheran	
Kircher, Athanasius	German	Catholic	Backer 4:1046–1077
Kircher, Conrad	German	Lutheran	Jöcher 2: 2096
Kirsten, Peter	German	Lutheran	BS Matr. 3: 2
Knollys, Hanserd	English	Baptist	ODNB
Kyber, David	German	Lutheran	
L'Empereur, Constantine	Dutch	Reformed	Van Rooden
Lambach, Johannes	German	Catholic	ADB
Lauret, Christoph	French	Catholic	
Le Fèvre de La Boderie, Guy	French	Catholic	Wilkison, <i>Ant</i> , 61–67
Le Fèvre de La Boderie, N.	French	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Ant</i> , 57
Ledebuhrius, Caspar	German	Lutheran	

¹⁹ Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550*, 4 vols. (1951–1955, reprint: Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1976), 4: 299–306.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Lee, Edward	English	Catholic	ODNB
Leigh, Edward	English	Anglican?	ODNB
Lepusculus, Sebastian	Swiss	Reformed	BS Matr 1: 343
Leusden, Johannes	Dutch	Reformed	NNBW 9: 601
Lightfoot, John	English	Anglican	ODNB
Lindanus, Wilhelm	Flemish	Catholic	ADB
Lippomano, Luigi	Italian	Catholic	Jöcher 2: 2463
Littleton, Adam	English	Anglican	ODNB
Lobkowitz, Johann Caramuel	Spanish	Catholic	Jöcher 1: 1662
Loftus, Dudley	Irish	Anglican	ODNB
López Zúñiga, Jaime	Spanish	Catholic	CE 2: 348–349
Marci, Matthaeus	German	Lutheran	
Margaritha, Antonius	German Jew	Catholic	Diemling ²⁰
Marinus, Marcus	Italian	Catholic	
Marschalk, Nicolaus	German	Catholic	ADB
Martens, Dirck	Flemish	Catholic	CE 2: 394–6
Martinez, Martin	Spanish	Catholic	
Martinius, Petrus	French	Reformed	
Masius, Andreas	Flemish	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Ant</i> , 39–41
Mayer, Bartholomaeus	German	Lutheran	
Mayr [Mayer], Georg	German	Catholic	NDB
Meelfuehrer, Johannes	German	Lutheran	ADB
Megiser, Hieronymus	German	Lutheran	NDB
Meier, Sebastian	German	Lutheran	ADB
Melanchthon, Philipp	German	Lutheran	
Melissander, Caspar	German	Lutheran	ADB
Mercier, Jean	French	Reformed	Routaut ²¹
Michael Angelus	Italian?	Catholic	

²⁰ Maria Diemling, “Anthonius Margaritha on the “Whole Jewish Faith”: A Sixteenth-Century Convert from Judaism and his Depiction of the Jewish Religion,” in: *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, ed. Dean Philip Bell and Stephen G. Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), here 304–307.

²¹ François Roudaut, ed., *Jean (c. 1525–1570) et Josias (c. 1560–1626) Mercier: L’amour de la philologie à la Renaissance et au début de l’âge classique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006).

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Minsheu, John. [Minschaeus]	English	Anglican	ODNB
Montecuccoli, Carlo	Italian	Catholic	
More, Henry	English	Anglican	ODNB
Morin, Jean	French	Catholic	Miller ²²
Mornay, Philippe du Plessis	French	Reformed	
Müller, Johannes	German	Lutheran	Braden ²³
Münster, Sebastian	German	Protestant	HLS
Muis, Simeon de	French	Catholic	
Munoz, Jeronimo	Spanish	Catholic	
Musculus, Wolfgang	German	Reformed	HLS
Mylius, Andreas	German	Lutheran	
Myricaues, Johann Caspar	German	Reformed	HLS
Natus, Fabricius	German	Lutheran	Segert, 49–51
Neander, Conrad	German	Lutheran	
Neander, Michael	German	Lutheran	ADB
Nebriensis, Antonius	Spanish	Catholic	CE 3: 9–10
Nielsen, Herman	Danish	Lutheran	
Norris, William	English	Anglican	Todd, 316
Nouzen, Augustus Sebastian	German	Lutheran	
Novenianus, Philip	German	Catholic	
Obizzino, Tomasso	Italian	Catholic	Fück, <i>Arabische</i> , 77
Oecolampadius, Johannes	German	Reformed	CE 3: 24–27
Oelschlegel, Nicolaus	German	Lutheran	
Oheim, Johann Philipp	German	Lutheran	

²² Peter N. Miller, "Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century," in: *Die europäische Gelehrten Republik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, ed. Herbert Jaumann, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 96 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 59–85, here 71–73.

²³ Jutta Braden, *Hamburger Judenpolitik im Zeitalter lutherischer Orthodoxie* (Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 2001), 181–197.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Opitz, Hieronymus younger	German	Lutheran	
Osiander, Andreas	German	Lutheran	CE 3: 35–36
Osiander, Lucas, elder	German	Lutheran	ADB
Otto, Julius Conrad	German Jew	Lutheran	Suess, 61–64
Owen, John	English	Independent	ODNB
Pagninus, Sanctes	Italian	Catholic	CathE
Paiva [Payva], Heliodoro de	Portuguese	Catholic	
Paradis, Paul (le Canosse)	Italian Jewish	Catholic	
Pasor, Georg	German	Reformed	ADB
Pavone, Francisco	Italian	Catholic	Backer 6: 390–396
Pearson, John	English	Anglican	ODNB
Pedersen, Niels	Danish	Lutheran	
Pellican, Conrad	German	Reformed	CE 3: 65–66
Petit, Samuel	French	Reformed	
Petri, Friedrich	German	Lutheran	Jöcher 3: 1441
Petrus Metropagita	Czech	Catholic	
Phelippeaux, Jean	French	Catholic	Jöcher 3: 1506–7
Piscator, Johannes	German	Reformed	BBKL
Pistorius, Johann	German	Catholic	BBKL
Pistorius, Theophil	German	Lutheran	Jöcher 3: 1600
Plancus [Planck], Andreas	German	Catholic	
Plantavit de la Pause, Jean	French	Catholic	Delcot ²⁴
Pococke, Edward	English	Anglican	ODNB
Pontac, Arnauld	French	Catholic	Schw Paris, 46
Postel, Guillaume	French	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Ant</i> , 49–59

²⁴ Mathias Delcot, “Jean Plantavit de la Pause, évêque de Lodève un grand hébraïsant oublié (1579–1651),” in: idem, *Études Bibliques et Orientales de Religions Comparées* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 393–402.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Potken, Johannes	German	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Or</i> , 67
Praetorius, Gottschalk	German	Lutheran	ADB
Rachelius, Joachim	German	Lutheran	
Radicius, Georg [Radike]	German	Lutheran	
Raphaelengius, Franciscus	Dutch	Reformed	Voet ²⁵
Ravius, Christian	German	Reformed	ODNB
Real [Realis], Andre	French	Catholic	Mersenne ²⁶
Remon, Alonso	Spanish	Catholic	
Rennecher, Hermann	German	Reformed	
Restauld de Caligny, Alain	French	Catholic	Schw Paris, 29
Reuchlin, Anton	German	Lutheran	Schindling, 264
Reuchlin, Johannes	German	Catholic	CE 3: 145–150
Reuden, Ambrosius	German	Lutheran	
Reyher[us], Andreas	German	Lutheran	ADB
Riber, David	German	Protestant?	
Ricius, Paul	Italian Jew	Catholic	CE 3: 158–160
Rittangel, Johann Stephan	German	Lutheran	van der Wall ²⁷
Robertson, William	Scottish	Reformed	ODNB
Roessel, Paul	German	Lutheran	
Rosberg, Benedict	German	Lutheran	
Rosenbach, Zacharias	German	Reformed	ADB
Row, John	Scottish	Reformed	ODNB
Rowley, Alexander	English	Anglican	
Rump, Heinrich	German	Lutheran	
Rust, Johannes	Swiss?	Reformed	BS Matr 2:492
Salomon, Johann	German	Lutheran	

²⁵ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969), 1: 149–151.

²⁶ *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne Religieux Minime*, ed. Paul Tannery, Cornelis de Waard and René Pintard, vol. 1: 1617–1627 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1945), 462.

²⁷ Ernestine van der Wall, “Johann Stephan Rittangel's Stay in the Dutch Republic (1641–1642),” in: *Jewish-Christian Relations in The Seventeenth Century. Studies and Documents*, ed. J. van den Berg and Ernestine G. E. van der Wall, International Archives of the History of Ideas 119 (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1988), 119–134.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Sao-Francisco, Luiz	Portuguese	Catholic	Kleinhans ²⁸
Saubert, Johann, younger	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Scaliger, Joseph	French	Reformed	Grafton ²⁹
Schade, Elias	German	Lutheran	Schindling, 264
Scheibler, Christoph	German	Lutheran	ADB
Scheraeus, Bartholomaeus	German	Lutheran	
Schickard, Wilhelm	German	Lutheran	Seck ³⁰
Schindler, Valentin	German	Lutheran	ADB
Schneegass, Elias	German	Lutheran	
Schoppe, Kaspar	German	Catholic	BBKL
Schotanus, Christian	Dutch	Reformed	ADB
Schreckenfuchs, Erasmus	German	Protestant?	
Schrieckius, Adrian	Flemish	Catholic	
Schroeter, Sebastian	German	Lutheran	
Schwenter, Daniel	German	Lutheran	ADB
Sciadrensis, Isaac ³¹	Syrian	Catholic	
Seidel, Caspar	German	Lutheran	
Seifart, Tobias	German	Lutheran	Jöcher 4: 485
Selden, John	English	Anglican?	ODNB
Selneccer, Nicolaus	German	Lutheran	BBKL
Sennert, Andreas	German	Lutheran	ADB
Serarius, Nicolas	German	Catholic	BBKL
Servetus, Miguel	Spanish	Radical	CE 3: 242–243
Sheringham, Robert	English	Anglican	ODNB
Sionita, Gabriel	Lebanese	Catholic	Rietbergen, 310–20
Sixtus of Sienna	Italian Jew	Catholic	BBKL
Slayter, William	English	Anglican	DNB

²⁸ A Kleinhans, "De grammatica Hebraica P. Ludovici S. Fransci," *Antonianum* 1 (1926): 102–108.

²⁹ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1983–1993).

³⁰ Friedrich Seck, ed. *Wilhelm Schickard 1592–1635. Astronm. Geograph. Orientalist.. Erfinder der Rechenmaschine* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1978).

³¹ Al-Sedrawi, Ishaq.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Slonkowic, Martinus	Polish	Catholic	
Smith, Thomas	English	Anglican	ODNB
Sorgerus, Jacobus	German	Lutheran	
Spey, Ruthger	German	Reformed	
Spindler, Johann	German	Lutheran	
Stancarus, Franz	Italian	Radical	ADB
Steucho, Agostino	Italian	Catholic	CE 3: 285–286
Stokes, David	English	Anglican	ODNB
Stroza, Petrus	Italian?	Catholic	
Symson, William	Scottish	Reformed	ODNB
Tavora, Francisco de	Port. Jew	Catholic	
Tayler, Francis	English	Anglican	Todd, 1: 40
Terentius [Teerens], Johann	Dutch	Reformed	ADB
Terserus, Johann Elai	Swedish	Lutheran	
Thorndike, Herbert	English	Anglican	ODNB
Thurius, Georg [Thury]	Hungarian	Reformed	Dan ³²
Thurman, Henry	English	Anglican	
Tissard, Francois	French	Catholic	Ruderman ³³
Titius, Franziscus	German	Lutheran	
Tossanus [Tossain], Paul	French	Reformed	BS Matr 2: 472
Tremellius, Immanuel	Italian Jewish	Reformed	Austin ³⁴
Trilles, Vincente	Spanish	Catholic	
Trost, Martin	German	Lutheran	ADB
Uchtmanus, Alard	Dutch	Reformed	Van Rooden, 228 n. 204
Udall, John	English	Anglican	ODNB
Uranus, Heinrich	German	Catholic	
Ussher, James	Irish	Anglican	ODNB
Vallensis, Joannes	Portuguese	Catholic	Schw Paris, 33

³² Robert Dan, "Thury's Hebrew Galatians and Ephesians," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 19 (1968): 71–74.

³³ David B. Ruderman, *The world of a Renaissance Jew: the life and thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press/ New York: KTAV Pub. House, 1981), 99, 103–5.

³⁴ Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism. The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Van Schurman, Anna Maria	Dutch	Reformed	ADB
Vasseur, Josue le	French	Reformed	Peyran ³⁵
Vatable, Francois	French	Catholic	CE 3:379
Veltwyck, Gerard	Dutch Jewish	Catholic	Rosenberg ³⁶
Veszelin, Paulus ³⁷	Hungarian	Reformed	
Viccars, John	English	Anglican	ODNB
Vignal, Pierre	French	Catholic	Schw Paris, 47
Villavicenio, Lorenzo	Italian	Catholic	
Vio Caietanus, Jacopo	Italian	Catholic	CE 1: 239
Voisin, Joseph de	French	Catholic	
Volandus, Johann	German	Lutheran	
Volusenus, Florentius	Scottish	Catholic	
Vorst, Johannes	German	Reformed	Jaumann ³⁸
Vorstius, Willem Hendrik	Dutch	Reformed	Katchen, 235–6
Vossius, Dionysius	Dutch	Reformed	Katchen, 161–69
Vossius, Isaac	Dutch	Reformed	Blok ³⁹
Vulpus, Henricus	Dutch	Lutheran	Jöcher 4: 1757
Wagner, Johannes	German	Lutheran	
Wakefield, Robert	English	Protestant	ODNB
Walper [Gualtperius], Otto	German	Lutheran	ADB
Walther, Michael	German	Lutheran	Ahrens ⁴⁰
Walton, Brian	English	Anglican	ODNB
Waser, Kaspar	Swiss	Reformed	HLS
Wechel, Chrétien	Flemish	Catholic?	CE 3: 434

³⁵ Charles Peyran, *Histoire de l'ancienne academie reformee de Sedan* (Strasbourg: Berger-Levrault, 1846), 50.

³⁶ Manfred Rosenberg, *Gerhard Veltwyck: Orientalist, Theolog und Staatsman* (Brandenburg a. H.: Rosenberg, 1935).

³⁷ Kismarjai Veszelin Pál. See Ferenc Postma, "Hebräische Grammatiken in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, 1635–1992," in: *Een boek heft een rug. Studies voor Ferenc Postma op het grensgebied van theologie, biblioflie en universiteitsgeschiedenis*, ed. Margriet Gosker (Zoetermeer: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 1995), 181–192, here 186.

³⁸ Herbert Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: Walther de Gruyter, 2004), 691.

³⁹ F. F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and his Circle: His Life until his Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden, 1618–1655* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2000)

⁴⁰ Ahrens, *Lehrkräfte*, 242–243.

Name	Nationality	Confession	Reference
Weidner, Paul	Italian Jew	Catholic	Poschenrieder ⁴¹
Weigenmeir, Georg	German	Lutheran	Schnurrer ⁴²
Westheimer, Bartholomaeus	German	Protestant	Jöcher 4: 1913.
Wheelock, Abraham	English	Anglican	ODNB
Widmannstätter, Johann A.	German	Catholic	Wilkinson, <i>Or</i> , 137–151.
Wilhelm[ius], Jacob	Danish	Lutheran	
Wolder, David	German	Lutheran	ADB
Worm, Ole	Danish	Lutheran	BS Matr 3: 78, no. 18
Yerworth, Samuel	English	Anglican	Jöcher 4: 2117
Zamora, Alfonso de	Spanish Jew	Catholic	Rummel ⁴³
Zechendorf, Johann	German	Lutheran	ADB
Zorzi, Francesco [Giorgio]	Italian	Catholic	Busi ⁴⁴
Zwingli, Ulrich	Swiss	Reformed	CE 3: 481–86

⁴¹ Rudolf Poschenrieder, *Die Lehrpersonen der Artistenfakultaet der Universitaet Wien im Zeitraum von ca. 1545–1622. Personalbibliographien* (PhD. dissertation: University of Vienna, 1972), 79.

⁴² Christian Friedrich Schnurrer, *Biographisches und litterarische Nachrichten von ehemaligen Lehrern der hebräischen Litteratur in Tübingen* (Ulm: Wohlerischen Buchhandlung, 1792), 136–149.

⁴³ Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros*, 59.

⁴⁴ Giulio Busi, “Francesco Zorzi: A Methodical Dreamer,” in: *The Christian Kabbalah: Jewish Mystical Books and their Christian Interpreters*, ed. Joseph Dan. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997), 97–125.

APPENDIX TWO

CHRISTIAN HEBREW PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS, 1501–1660

Christian Hebrew printers were usually general printers of humanist works who also printed books that contained Hebrew type. Their activities as Hebrew printers, however, are not well recognized outside of a small circle of specialists. The most important analytic bibliographies that list Hebrew imprints include Lyse Schwarzfuchs' three recent bibliographical studies on Hebrew printing in Paris, Lyon, and Geneva, Joseph Priejs' *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke* (1964), and the impressive two volume bibliography of Hebrew printing in the Netherlands edited by Lajb Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld.¹ Leon Voet's enormous Plantin bibliography provided analytic descriptions of most of the Hebraica produced in Antwerp.² Samuel Selfisch is the only Wittenberg printer or publisher who has been studied in any detail.³ I have assembled this registry of Hebrew printers to encourage further investigation in this poorly researched part of Hebrew bibliography and printing history.

More than 30 Hebrew books

113	Crato, Johann and heirs	Wittenberg
70	Estienne, Robert I and Geneva heirs	Paris, Geneva
68	Plantin, Christopher and Moretus	Antwerp, Leiden
66	Petri, Heinrich and heirs	Basel
60	Jeune, Martin le (Juvenis)	Paris

¹ Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hebreu à Paris au XVI^e siècle: inventaire chronologique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 2004); idem, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais* (Lyons: ENS Éditions, 2008); idem, *L'Hébreu dans le livre à Genève au XVI^e siècle*. Genève: Droz, 2011); Joseph Priejs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1886)* (Olten and Freiburg: Urs-Graf, 1965); L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography*, 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984–1987).

² Leon Voet with Jenny Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): a Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983).

³ Hans Leonhard, *Samuel Selfisch, ein deutscher Buchhändler am Ausgang des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Schunke, 1902).

59	Froben, J. and heirs; Episcopus	Basel
39	Raphelengius, Franz & heirs	Leiden
39	Selfisch, Samuel	Wittenberg
35	Rouvière, Pierre de la	Geneva
34	Grosse, Henning and heirs	Leipzig
33	Wechel, Chrétien	Paris
31	König, Ludwig and heirs	Basel/Strasbourg

11 to 30 Hebrew books

29	Elzevier, Bonaventure & Abraham	Leiden
27	Estienne, Charles and Robert II	Paris
26	Radaeus, Aegidius	Franeker
25	Flesher, James	London
24	Jansson, Johannes Sr. and Jr.	Amsterdam
22	Gryphius, Sebastian and heirs	Lyon
19	Gourmont, Gilles de	Paris
19	Dietrich, Alexander & Katharine	Nuremberg
18	Waldkirch, Conrad	Basel
18	Maire, Jean le and Theodore	Leiden
17	Heynsius, Frederick	Franeker
17	Morel, Guillaume and heirs	Paris
17	Vitray, Antonius	Paris
16	Seuberlich, Johannes	Wittenberg
15	Nivelle, Sebastian and Nivelliana	Paris
14	Laurens, Hendrick	Amsterdam
13	Anselm, Thomas	Hagenau, Pforzheim, Tübingen
13	Oporinus, Johannes	Basel
13	Sartorius, Salomon	Copenhagen
13	Soter, Johannes and heirs	Cologne, Solingen
12	Chemlin, Kaspar	Giessen, Marburg
12	Fagius, Paul	Isny, Constance
12	Vignon, Eustathius and heirs	Geneva
11	Crispinus, Jean	Geneva
11	Hartmann, Johann and Friedrich	Frankfurt/Oder
11	Mace, Jean and heirs	Paris
11	Manutius, Aldus and heirs	Venice
11	Wechel, Andreas and heirs	Frankfurt/Main, Hanau

5–10 Hebrew Books

10	Sessa, Melchiorre and heirs	Venice
10	Schuerer, Zacharias and heirs	Wittenberg
9	Bee, Cornelius	London
9	Chevalon, Claude and C. Guillard	Paris
9	Cramoisy, Sebastian	Paris
9	Eichorn, Andreas and Johann	Frankfurt/Oder
9	Herwagen, Johann the elder	Basel/Strasbourg
9	Klug, Josef and heirs	Wittenberg
9	Morden, William	Cambridge
9	Robinson, Thomas	Oxford
9	Roycroft, Thomas	London
9	Royston, Richard	London
9	Wells, William	London
8	Boreck, August	Wittenberg
8	Desboys, Guillaume	Paris
8	Guerigli, Giovanni	Venice
8	Lantzenberger, Michael	Leipzig
8	Paulinus, Stephanus	Rome
8	Saher, Christian à	Jena, Erfurt, Arnstadt
8	Stansby, William	London, Amsterdam
8	Steinmann, Tobias and heirs	Jena
8	Tournes, Jean de and heirs	Lyon, Geneva
7	Birckmann, Arnold and heirs	Cologne
7	Bodmer, Johann Jakob	Zurich
7	Brocarius, Arnaldus Guillelmus	Alcalá de Henares
7	Chaudiere, Guillaume and heirs	Paris
7	Collegio Italarum	Paris
7	Gormann, Johann	Wittenberg
7	Henckel, Martin	Wittenberg
7	Keil, Nikolaus	Rostock
7	L'Huillier, Pierre	Paris
7	Mintzel, Johann Albrecht	Leipzig
7	Roehner, Johann	Wittenberg
7	Sonnius, Michael and heirs	Paris
7	Werlin, Dietrich the elder	Tübingen
6	Albert, Idzard	Franecker
6	Bishop, Richard	London

6	Cardon, Horace and Jacques	Lyon
6	Eguia, Miguel de	Alcalá de Henares
6	Frobenius, Georg Ludwig	Hamburg
6	Grimm, Sigismund	Augsburg
6	Haultin, Hierosme	La Rochelle
6	Henault, Mathur and heirs	Paris
6	Marne, Claude and heirs	Frankfurt/Main
6	Robinson, Humphrey	London
6	Sachse [Saxonem], Johann	Hamburg
6	Soter, Jacob and heirs	Cologne
6	Thomson, Samuel	London
6	Zetzner, Lazarus and heirs	Strasbourg
5	Berger, Clemens	Wittenberg
5	Berthelin, Andre & G. Roland	Paris
5	Congr. for Propagation of the Faith	Rome
5	Daniel, Roger	Cambridge/London
5	Defner, Georg	Leipzig
5	Fincelius, Hiob Wilhelm	Wittenberg
5	Gourbin, Gilles	Paris
5	Lebe, Guillaume	Paris
5	Kündig, Jacob	Basel
5	Pillehotte, Antoine	Lyon
5	Scheibe, Samuel	Leipzig
5	Schmidt, Peter	Arnstadt, Schleusingen
5	Setzer, Johann	Hagenau
5	Steelsius, Johann and heirs	Antwerp
5	Ventura, Comino	Bergamo
5	Wolff, Thomas	Basel

APPENDIX THREE

CHRISTIAN HEBREW BOOK PRODUCTION: TYPESETTING AND TYPE

When Christian presses began to print Hebrew books for Christian readers, they were able to use both the equipment and expertise developed by their Jewish predecessors. In addition to the problem of printing books in an unfamiliar language, Christian Hebrew printers faced certain technical challenges, and of course they also had to have enough Hebrew type of the right sizes and sorts to produce their works.

Setting lines of Hebrew, whether entire pages, sections or simply a line or two, was a more difficult process than setting a Latin text. A single line of Hebrew included the consonants occupying the middle of the line, and the vowel points and accents added both above and below the consonants. Giuliano Tamani posited a four-step typesetting process. First, the twenty-seven consonants had to be placed, including the final letters forms for Kaf, Mem, Nun, Pe and Tsadde. Next, the vowel Holem was placed above the consonant Waw where necessary, and composite Shewas that contained vowels were added under the consonants. Third, typesetters would add the ten vowel points that were placed under the consonants. Finally the vocalization accents and cantillation marks were added below the consonants.¹ Apart from the complexity of the process described above, it was quite easy for non-Jewish typesetters to make mistakes when composing Hebrew type since they often could not read it. Abraham Braunschweig wrote an elaborate apology to Jewish readers of the Rabbinic Bible (Basel, 1618–19) that he edited for Johannes Buxtorf the elder because it contained so many errors. He attributed most of them to the non-Jewish print shop typesetters who worked on the Sabbath when Jews could not and would not work. Earlier in his career Buxtorf had to transcribe a Hebrew manuscript into square Hebrew script from cursive, because Waldkirch's typesetters could not work from a cursive text.²

¹ Summarized by Stephen Lubell, "The Use of Hebrew in the Antwerp Polyglot," *Journal of the Printing Historical Society* 16 (2010): 5–35, here 25.

² Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth-Century*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought* 68 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 39, 172–173.

While literacy in Hebrew was not absolutely necessary to print books containing Hebrew text, it was a far more laborious process both for Christian typesetters and correctors than it was ordinarily for Jewish printers who could read it fluently.

Since Jewish printers had had over twenty-five years worth of experience producing type, it is no surprise that some of the earliest Hebrew typefaces used by Christians were derived from Jewish presses. Moshe N. Rosenberg asserted that the type used by Paul Fagius in his Isny press was identical to what German Jewish printer Hayim Schwarz used in his Augsburg press the decade before.³ Daniel Bomberg's son Karel, his brother Anthony, and his nephew Cornelius II inherited his Hebrew type and the matrices and punches necessary to produce more. They entered into a partnership with Christopher Plantin on 26 November 1563, and under its terms made these materials available to Plantin.⁴ However Christian punch cutters were quite capable of designing Hebrew typefaces of their own. Plantin employed Guillaume Le Bé, Robert Granjon, and Claude Garamond to produce Hebrew punches and matrices in addition to what he had from the Bombergs.⁵ Granjon would later spend over a decade in Rome creating a remarkable series of type designs for Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Cyrillic, and perhaps Hebrew for the Medici Oriental press.⁶ By the second half of the sixteenth century creating Hebrew typefaces had become an ordinary task for at least some Christian punch cutters.

Procuring type was perhaps the most expensive part of starting a press to print Christian Hebraica. When Plantin's estate was settled in 1589, the total value of his business was valued at 18,000 fl, and his vast collection of type was reckoned to be worth 8,800 fl.⁷ Since only forty firms produced ten or more Christian Hebrew books between 1501 and 1660, they were

³ Moshe N. Rosenfeld, *Der Jüdische Buchdruck in Augsburg in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (London: Rosenfeld, 1985), 16.

⁴ Lubell, "Use of Hebrew," 12.

⁵ Ibid., 15, and the summary of Plantin's Hebrew types on pp. 27–30.

⁶ Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, "Cyrillic & Oriental Typography in Rome at the End of the Sixteenth Century: An Inquiry into the Later Work of Robert Granjon," in: idem, *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance. Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces*, 2 vols., Library of the Written Word: The Handpress World 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 427–474. Granjon lived in Rome from 1578 until his death in 1590.

⁷ Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, vol. 2: *The Management of a Printing and Publishing House in Renaissance and Baroque* (Amsterdam: Vangendt, 1969), 142.

probably also the firms that needed the largest amount of Hebrew type and the largest variety of fonts. Firms involved in printing smaller numbers of Hebraica books may have needed only one or two sizes of Hebrew type. Unusually, both Paul Fagius and Elias Hutter owned substantial amounts of Hebrew type and type in other languages as well. They could do so because their wealthy patrons—Peter Böffler of Isny and the Nuremberg City Council—made it possible for them to purchase such large amounts of type.⁸ The standard descriptive bibliographies of Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, Prijs, Schwarzfuchs, and Voet contain discussions of the Hebrew type used in over half of these forty firms.⁹ Apart from Prijs's work on Basel, very little typographic study has been done for Hebrew presses in the German-speaking regions of Europe.

It is worth remembering that Hebrew printing was never a major activity for most Christian presses. Their stocks of Hebrew type probably did not wear out very quickly, because they were seldom used, but conversely they did not repay the cost associated with their own production as quickly either. The production rhythms of these Christian Hebrew presses, their acquisition and use of Hebrew type, the personnel who produced Christian Hebrew books for the presses, and their occasional use of Jewish help are all issues that are little explored in the existing secondary literature.

⁸ Elizabeth S. Leedham-Green noted that at his death Fagius owned three printing presses and Hebrew, Greek, and Latin type. *Books in Cambridge Inventories. Book Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, vol. 1: *The Inventories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 109. Hutter owned Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, German, and Cyrillic type. Elias Hutter, "Summarisch vorzeichnung was ohngefährlich mein Eliae Huttern vorrat ist," printed in: *Das Nürnberger Buchgewerbe. Buch- und Zeitungsdrucker, Verleger und Druckhändler vom 16. Bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Michael Diefenbacher and Wiltrud Fischer-Pache. (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag des Stadtarchivs Nürnberg, 2003), 410, no. 2546.

⁹ L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in the Northern Netherlands 1585–1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Bibliography*, 2 vols (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984–1987); Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hébreu à Paris au XVI^e siècle: inventaire chronologique* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 2004); idem, *L'hébreu dans le livre lyonnais* (Lyons: ENS Éditions, 2008); idem, *L'Hébreu dans le livre à Genève au XVI^e siècle*. Genève: Droz, 2011); Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler hebräischen Drucke (1492–1886)* (Olten and Freiburg: Urs-Graf, 1965); Leon Voet with Jenny Voet-Grisolle, *The Plantin Press (1555–1589): a Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980–1983).

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